

Keltic Researches



STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANCIENT GOIDELIC LANGUAGE AND PEOPLES

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TO THE MEMORY OF HENRY BRADSHAW
LATE LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
WHOSE DISCOVERY OF THE BOOK OF DEER
AND WHOSE PALAEOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL GENIUS
HAVE PERMANENTLY ENRICHED KELTIC STUDIES

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PREFACE

THE history of ancient and early mediaeval times requires to a far greater extent than more recent history the aid of various other sciences, not the least of which is the science of language. And, although the first object of these Studies was to demonstrate to specialists various unrecognized or imperfectly recognized linguistic facts, the importance of those facts in themselves is much less than that of their historical consequences.

The main historical result of this book is the settlement of 'the Pictish question', or rather of the two Pictish questions. The first of these is 'What kind of language did the Picts speak?'. The second is 'Were the Picts conquered by the Scots?'.
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The first has been settled by linguistic and palaeographical methods only: it has been shown that Pictish was a language virtually identical with Irish, differing from that far less than the dialects of some English counties differ from each other. The second has been settled, with very little help from language, by historical and textual methods: it has been made abundantly clear, I think, to any person of impartial and critical mind that the supposed conquest of the Picts by the Scots is an absurd myth.

The Highlander, as we call him—the Albanach as he calls himself in his own Gaelic—is, indeed, in the vast majority of cases simply the modern Pict, and his language modern Pictish. To suppose that the great free people from which he is descended were ever conquered by a body of Irish colonists, and that the language he speaks is merely an Irish colonial dialect, are delusions which, I hope, no one will regret to see finally dispelled.

The next most important results of these Studies are the demonstration of the great prominence of the Belgic element in the population of the British isles, and the evidence that so many of the tribes known to us as inhabiting England and

Wales in Roman times spoke not Old Welsh, as has hitherto been supposed, but Old Irish. Particularly notable for wide dispersion and maritime venture are the Menapians, and it is a pleasure to me to have traced to them the origin of the Manx nation and language.

As regards Continental history, the great Goidelic element is now shown to have extended with more or less continuity from the Danube to the mouth of the Loire, and from the Tagus and the Po to the mouth of the Rhine.

And here let me add a very necessary caution. Names which have not been purposely invented to describe race must never be taken as proof of race, but only as proof of community of language or community of political organization. We call a man who speaks English, lives in England, and bears an obviously English name (such as Freeman¹ or Newton) an Englishman. Yet from the statistics of 'relative nigrescence'² there is good ground to believe that Lancashire, West Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Cambridgeshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, *and part of Sussex*, are as Keltic as Perthshire and North Munster; that Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Devon, Dorset, *Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, and Bedfordshire* are more so—and equal to North Wales and Leinster; *while Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire exceed even this degree and are on a level with South Wales and Ulster*. Cornwall, of course, is more Keltic than any other English county, and as much so as Argyll, Invernessshire, or Connaught.

What is sauce for the 'Saxon' is sauce for the 'Kelt'. The Keltic-speaking peoples of antiquity may have incorporated other Aryan or non-Aryan tribes, and the Keltic language of any given region may have been introduced by quite a small minority of conquerors—like the English language in Ireland. Even as between the Irishman and the Welshman, the language-test is not a race-test: both in North

¹ No one was more intensely 'English' in his sympathies than the great historian of that name, and probably no one would have more strenuously resisted the suggestion that he might be of Welsh descent: yet I have met his close physical counterpart in a Welsh farmer (named Evans) living within a few miles of Pwllheli.

² See W. Z. Ripley's map (*Races of Europe*, 318) and his accompanying text, particularly the top of p. 323.

and in South Wales many scores of thousands of the 'Kymry' are probably descended from ancestors who spoke Irish; and it is equally possible—though I know of no evidence for the supposition—that the Goidels of Ireland may have absorbed tribes, or portions of tribes, which originally spoke Kymric.

If, therefore, I have anywhere referred to any people, or the users of any given language or family of language, in terms which might be thought to imply that they were all of one primeval physical stock, I must disclaim that interpretation. In other words, such a term as 'Goidels' is to be taken as meaning nothing more than an aggregate of people who speak Goidelic, or whose ancestors spoke it.

The chief linguistic result of the Studies (apart from the determination of the nature of Pictish and of the parentage of Highland Gaelic) is the fact that the loss of original *p*, a loss supposed to be the distinguishing feature of the Keltic family of language, is of comparatively late date in the Goidelic branch—that, in fact, *p* was normally kept (see p. 205) for centuries after the Christian era, at Bordeaux till the 5th cent., in Pictish probably later still. I strongly advise those who read these Studies chiefly for linguistic purposes, or who would satisfy themselves of the soundness of the linguistic foundation, to pass to the Appendixes immediately after reading the first 8 pages. Two of those Appendixes have, indeed, been published before—'Sequanian' as a pamphlet, 'Pictavian' in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*; but the former has been largely revised and corrected, and the demonstration that the Rom tablet is in rimed metre is an important addition to the revised reprint of the latter.

My constant references to living scholars are themselves recognitions of indebtedness, yet I cannot help adding that, but for the *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*¹ of Dr. Whitley Stokes, 'the grand old man' of Keltic philology, this book could never have been written.

While it was passing through the press, Prof. Anwyl sent me a paper of his own which was likely to interest me. I sent him in return a sheet or two of my proofs and offered to send the rest. He has very kindly glanced through them all, and

¹ Übersetzt, überarbeitet und herausgegeben von Adalbert Bezzenberger. Göttingen, 1894.

has sent me notes on them: two or three have been corrections of small slips, some have been cautious counsels to be occasionally less positive in statement, and others have been new facts and suggestions, always interesting, sometimes important, which I have made use of with due acknowledgement, and almost all of which will be found in Appendix VII. But, while congratulating myself on this kind service, I should be sorry if the reader considered Prof. Anwyl as endorsing any mistake which has escaped his attention. In a work of the extent and character of this, even a trained Keltic philologist would find it difficult to avoid absolutely all error of statement or of inference: in my case, I can only hope that such errors may be few and unimportant—I dare not dream that they have been escaped altogether.

The body of the book, that is to say pp. 9–III, was begun in Dec. 1900, and was meant to be quite a short paper on the Menapii, Parisii, and Belgae, in England—to be offered to the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* as a sequel to my ‘Language of the Continental Picts’. I was led on, however, from point to point till, at the end of September 1901, the ‘short paper’ would have filled 90 pp. of the *Zeitschrift*; and, on my informing the editors, they very reasonably told me that they could not spare the space. In order to fit the material in some degree for another periodical, I then wrote the introductory matter on pp. 1–8, and was on the verge of completing it when a great breakdown of the heart prostrated me. On recovering sufficiently, I sent an analysis to the editor of a well-known Keltic society’s journal, asking if it would be of any use to forward the paper itself; but the favourable answer did not come for some seven months, and meanwhile I had thought best to print for myself. I mention these things for two reasons. Firstly, that the reviewer and the general reader may understand that the book was written simply to prove certain facts, in the smallest space, to a limited scientific circle. Secondly, that my friends, and the University to which I owe serious duties, may know that since the illness referred to I have not been guilty of writing more than about the last 34 pp.—besides the index, in which my daughter Myrtle has helped me. I have, indeed, not even read my own proofs more than could possibly be helped, but

have been glad to avail myself of the aid of Mr. Strickland Gibson, M.A., of the Bodleian staff, who had already copied much of my manuscript for the printer. I have also to thank Mr. Gibson for calling my attention to Henri Monin's *Monuments des anciens idiomes gaulois*, to which I owe my knowledge of the Amélie-les-Bains tablets.

I must thank Mr. Hugh W. Young, F.S.A. Scot., the owner of Burghead, for letting me reproduce photographs he had given me of the Burghead stone; Mr. James Milne of Arbroath for letting me reproduce three photographs of the St. Vigean's stone, taken by his late father; and Prof. Camille Jullian for sending me two photographs of the Rom tablet for the same purpose. M. Ernest Leroux, the present publisher of the *Revue Archéologique*, has informed me that there is no longer any copyright in the plate of the Amélie-les-Bains tablets, but I have to thank him nevertheless for making no objection to my reproducing it.

The maps have had to be made against time. Using chiefly those of Haverfield and Longnon, I have asked Mr. F. C. Wellstood, of the Bodleian staff, to fix many of the positions and draw boundaries for me; have then written in the names on outline-maps of Messrs. George Philip and Son, with their permission; and have finally obtained from Messrs. Darbishire and Stanford, of Oxford, the services of a draughtsman, Mr. E. R. Bryant, to make a fair copy on duplicate outline-maps, which the Clarendon Press have reduced and collotyped.

It would be very ungrateful of me not to add the expression of my obligations to the Controller, Mr. Horace Hart, and the staff of the Clarendon Press, for the great pains they have taken to produce a most troublesome volume exactly to its author's liking.

I have given that volume a shorter and wider heading, as well as a longer and narrower, partly for ease of comprehension and citation, but partly also because, if all goes well, I may in some future year issue another volume of 'Keltic Researches', containing many separate studies on obscure points in British history and antiquities, chiefly between the Roman and Danish invasions.

I should have liked to add much on the vastness and

richness of the harvest which awaits labourers in the fields of Keltic philology and Keltic antiquarian research. But, until I know a University which could—or a rich man who would—do something to provide the labour, I fear that I should only be wasting time.

But it may perhaps be of some little help to another cause which many more than myself have at heart—the preservation of the surviving Keltic languages—if I add here an extract from my own book ‘Golspie’. And what I have there said with regard to the languages of the British isles applies equally, *mutatis mutandis*, to Breton.

‘No sensible man who wished the Highlander to live in intimacy and friendship with the other races which inhabit these isles, or who wished to see him cultivated and prosperous, would do otherwise than wish him to speak and read English well. But I hope the day will never come when Gaelic will become extinct in the Highlands, as unhappily Cornish was allowed to become extinct in the eighteenth century. In it are imbedded no small part of the Highlander’s history—the history of his settlements, the history of his descent, the history of his thought, the history of his culture. It is not only bad for a race to forget such things, but it is bad for science too: no study of a dead language can recover for us all of that knowledge which would have been transmitted by its preservation. Every Highlander, every Irish Gael, every Manksman, and every Welshman, should know and speak the speech of his fathers, and should see that his children also know and speak it. And every government should show for all such healthy developments of race-feeling that sympathy which is the best bond of union.’

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The emblems of the 5 'nations' of the British isles which appear on the cover are from drawings by Mr. F. C. Wellstood.

STUDIES

IN THE HISTORY AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANCIENT GOIDELIC LANGUAGE AND PEOPLES

Our present knowledge of the division and distribution of the Keltic languages.—The modern Keltic languages—that is, Irish, Highland Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Breton, and the recently extinct Cornish—differ from all other languages of the Indo-European family in one very curious respect. Where the dead ancestor-speech of the entire family had the sound of *p*, undoubled and unaccompanied by any other consonant, the modern Keltic languages have regularly¹ lost it altogether (save in borrowed words), while the other living members of the Indo-European family have either preserved it intact or at least represent it in some other way. For instance, the primitive word for ‘father’ must have been *pátér* (Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Grammatik d. indogerm. Sprachen*, § 551), and the *p* is kept by modern Greek in *patéras*, by Italian in *padre*, and by all the other Romance languages; in English *father* and German *Vater* it has become aspirated into the sound of *f*; and in Armenian *hair* it has sunk to the fainter aspiration *h*; but in Irish and Highland Gaelic *athair* and Manx *ayr* the original initial *p* is entirely unrepresented².

The modern Keltic languages.

The dropping of original *p*.

Among themselves, the modern Keltic languages are sharply divided into two groups by their treatment of that combination of guttural consonant and labial semivowel which in Latin and English is usually written *qu*, and of which the English pronunciation is *kw*. In Irish and Highland Gaelic *qu* is normally represented by *c* or its aspirate *ch*, in Manx by *q*, *c*,

Two groups, distinguished by their treatment of *qu*.

¹ See p. 171 for the very few known exceptions.

² In Welsh, Breton, and Cornish this particular stem is not extant, having been superseded by the *tato-* stem: otherwise the same thing would have happened in those languages also.

or the aspirate *gh*. In Cornish, Breton, and Welsh it is normally represented by *p*. Thus the ancient stem *quenno-* 'head,' is *ceann* in Irish and Highland Gaelic, *kione* in Manx, but *pen* in Cornish and Welsh, while in Breton the *ff* of the compound *gour-ffen* shows it to have been *pen* there also.

The Gaelic,
Gadelic, or
Goidelic
group.

The three languages of the first group are all called Gaelic¹, that is, the speech of the Gadels or Goidels—a race-name of uncertain derivation. Hence that primitive form of Keltic which we must presuppose as the parent of this group is called Gadelic or Goidelic, and the latter form, which is the more commonly used, will be employed in this book.

The
Kym(m)ric
group.

For the three languages of the other group the term 'Brythonic' has of late years been invented. We shall eventually see that this term is open to very grave objections, and instead of it I shall use the term Kymric. Cornish, Breton², and modern Welsh are all dialects of the language spoken by inhabitants of Britain who must have called themselves by the name of Commroges, 'co-markers' i.e. 'fellow-countrymen', or by a later form of that word: it survives in *Cumber-land*, and in the vernacular names³ of the Welsh

¹ Irish *Gaoidhlig*, *Gædhlilig*, Highland *Gàidhlig*, Manx *Gael*.

² But it is unknown how far, if at all, Breton is a compound of the dialect of the colonists from Britain with any native Armorican dialect of Keltic.

Our earliest authority as to the origin of the Bretons is Nennius, who, writing in or about 796, says they are descended from British troops who followed Maximian or Maximus to the Continent, and to whom he gave lands.

The idea of M. le Moyne de la Borderie that they were fugitives who began coming over after the Saxon victory at Crayford in Kent in 457 is incredible. He has himself pointed out that they had a bishop at the Council of Tours in 461, which is barely conceivable on his theory: but there is a more decisive argument against it. Brittany consisted of five provinces, of which two (and two only) were named after districts of England, and those two were Domnonia, occupying almost the entire N. coast, and Cornubia, occupying almost the entire W. coast. Nothing can be clearer than that the colonists were mainly from Devon and Cornwall, and if they were military levies this is likely enough. But Devonians and Cornishmen had no cause to flee from the Saxons in 457-61. Cornwall was ruled by a native king as late (at least) as the 9th century, and Devon as late as the 8th, while till the 7th century the Saxon dominion never even reached the borders of Devon.

The extreme promontory of Brittany (for a time one of the five principalities, but afterwards united to Domnonia) was known as Leon, which *may* represent Lyonesse (=Lyon promontory?), a traditional extension of Cornwall overrun by the sea. But the depths of the soundings forbid us to suppose any great district swallowed up.

³ Pronounced *Kəm(m)rỹ*, *Kəm(m)ry*, and *Kəm(m)rūæg*, the *ə* being sounded like *a* in *India*, *e* in *father*, *i* in *birch*, *o* in *sailor*, or *u* in *purple*; but *not* as *u* in *plump*. I spell 'Kymric' with K to prevent it from being pronounced *Simric* or

people (*Cym(m)ry*), their country (*Cym(m)ru*), and their language (*Cym(m)raeg*).

Of all the modern Keltic languages, except Manx, some Mediaeval Keltic languages: deficiency of Manx. *mediaeval* literature has survived; but of Middle Manx we have apparently nothing, and of Old Manx only a few ogam-inscriptions, which may belong to the early middle ages, but (if so) preserve the language of a more ancient period.

In Old Irish literature, and even (though very rarely ¹⁾ Initial *h* in O. Irish in place of *p*. in Old Welsh and in Cornish, we have cases of words being spelt with initial *h* which in primitive Indo-European must have begun with *p*, and this *h* has in consequence been suspected of being the worn-down representation of *p*, descended from it through an intermediate *ph* (*f*).

For our knowledge of the state of these languages in Keltic languages of the British isles in Roman times. Roman times we are dependent solely on the names of places and persons contained in ancient authors or in contemporary Latin inscriptions, with the addition of the few Old Manx inscriptions already mentioned and a large number of Old Irish ogam-inscriptions, which, though none of them can certainly be dated within Roman times, preserve many of the ancient grammatical forms.

In ogam-inscriptions found in Ireland there are some P in Irish ogams. 13 instances of *p*. Hitherto, however, not one of them has been admitted to represent single Indo-European *p*, but all have been explained by some other hypothesis—for example, as being degraded *b*'s, or as being in the language

(by Germans) *Tsimric* or (by Italians) *Tshimric*: in the older literature of the Kymric languages *h* and *c* are used indifferently.

The common idea that it is 'English' to pronounce *c* as *s* before *e*, *i*, *y* is based on a complete misconception. Save in corruptions (of Norman origin?) of the name Cirencester, English never changes its own sound of *c* (*k*) into that of *s*, but only into that of *ch* (e.g. *kirk* into *church*): all the words in which it pronounces *c* as *s* are either misspellings (as *once* for *ones*) or are words borrowed from Romance or classical languages. As a large stock of classical words had come into English through French, the practice of sounding *c* as *s* before *e*, *i*, *y* in classical words became established. But for English *c* in the like case our ancestors eventually wrote *k*, and so we spell *kitten* with a *k* though *cat* with a *c*. 'Celt' and 'Celtic' probably came to us through French, so that the pronunciations *Selt* and *Seltic* are from that point of view right. But we are at liberty to re-form them either from classical Latin or the still earlier Greek stem *Κελτ-*, and the pronunciation of *c* as *s* is so abhorrent to the Keltic languages themselves that I prefer to follow those writers who use the K-form.

¹ 'acymr. hedant „volant“ = *πτεροῦται*' (Stokes, *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, 27), and 'corn. hethen' (28) = 'bird'.

of supposed Kymric settlers and representing original *q*'s, or as being in that of a non-Keltic race.

Pictish.

Nothing has yet been said about the language called Pictish, spoken by the Picts in Scotland, and presumably also in Ireland, in and before the early middle ages. Of the period during which the name Pict is in use, that is from about 297 to about 878, we have neither a single book nor even a single sentence in a book professedly or certainly written in Pictish. For our knowledge of it we are almost entirely dependent on the geographical and historical names transmitted to us (often grossly corrupted by scribes) and on some two dozen inscriptions—none of them completely divided into words, most of them absolutely undivided, and nearly all in that peculiar alphabet of strokes known as the ogam alphabet, which in a state of decay is far more difficult of decipherment than are ordinary letters.

Maqq on Pictish stones suggests it Goidelic.

As these inscriptions contain examples of the Irish ogam stem *maqqo*-, which gives Irish and Highland Gaelic *Mac*, and actually with the *q* spelling (which in Old Irish is not found even as late as the time of Adamnan, who died in 704), it might have been regarded as certain that Pictish was one of the Goidelic group of languages (which preserved *q* or at a later period turned it into *c*). In fact it might have been regarded as certain that Pictish was simply an earlier state of Highland Gaelic.

This view of Pictish was, indeed, plausibly advocated by the late Dr. W. F. Skene, whose 'Celtic Scotland' shows historical insight much in advance of his work as an editor of manuscripts or of Keltic texts. It did not, however, find acceptance with philologists, partly perhaps because the Picts were supposed to have been conquered by the Dalriad Scots, and Highland Gaelic to be descended accordingly from Dalriad Scottish, but mainly because a Pictish place-name *Peanfahel* was supposed to mean 'head of the *vallum*', with *pean* = Welsh *penn* 'head'. If *pean* was true Pictish for 'head', Pictish could not possibly be Goidelic, and all the names with *Mac* or *Maqq* found in the Pictish inscriptions, together with all other obviously Goidelic names among the Picts, must either be names of Irishmen and Dalriad Scots, or must else have been borrowed from Irish or Dalriad Scottish.

Supposed meaning of *Peanfahel* would make it Kymric.

Another obstacle was the large number of place-names *Pett, Pitt.* in Scotland beginning with *Pet(t)* or *Pit(t)*. On the principle that Keltic never preserves single Indo-European *p*, the *p* in these names should be either a degraded *b* or a degraded *qu*, and in the latter case Pictish must have belonged not to the Goidelic but to the Kymric branch. The name of ^{The name} the Picts themselves presented the same difficulty; for ^{Pict.} Prof. Rhys plausibly urged that the forms which it takes in Welsh, O. Norse, and Anglo-Saxon showed that it was not derived from the Latin *pictus*.

Accordingly the majority of Keltic scholars regarded ^{Kymric and inter-} Pictish as Kymric, or intermediate between Kymric and ^{mediate theories of} Goidelic: these explained *pett* and *pitt* as equivalent to Welsh *peth*, 'portion', and Old Irish *cuit* (Highland Gaelic *cuid*), and they explained the name Pict itself as equivalent to Old Irish *cicht*, 'carver'.

Prof. Rhys on the other hand sought to find in the stone ^{Basque theory of it.} inscriptions evidence that Pictish was not a Keltic or Indo-European language at all, but represented the speech of the inhabitants of Britain before the arrival of the Kelts (*Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxvi. 263-351, 411-12). In recasting his former paper on the subject (*ib.* xxxii. 324-98) he says 'I attempted then to prove the Pictish language related to Basque', and adds with splendid candour 'but whether it is related or not, my attempt to prove that it is has been pronounced, and justly pronounced, a failure'. By his extremely acute, patient, and cautious investigation of the surface of the inscriptions, he has, however, greatly advanced the study of them, and it would be unjust not to recognize the service done by Lord Southesk in the same direction.

In 1896 I myself, having been led by Prof. Rhys's paper ^{My own book of 1896.} to the study of the inscriptions, published a translation and glossary of them. While confessing the slightness of my acquaintance with the Keltic languages, I insisted that the Pictish inscriptions were Old Highland Gaelic, and, adopting a suggestion of the Rev. Dr. J. M. Joass that *ætta* or *ehite* was the same word as Highland Gaelic *àite*, declared them to be almost without exception boundary-stones. But I knew at that time much too little of Old Irish phonetics

and grammar to be able to avoid some elementary errors, and probably I produced little or no effect upon trained Keltic students. My attempt to explain the *p*'s as degraded *b*'s was a hopeless failure.

The Keltic languages of the Continent in Roman times.

Let us now pass to the consideration of the Keltic languages in Roman times. Keltic-speaking tribes occupied Belgium, almost all France, great part of Spain and Portugal, most of North Italy, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary as far east as the long southward bend of the Danube, and Galatia. They have left only a few dozen inscriptions, but an abundance of their place-names and person-names, and a certain number of ordinary words, have been preserved to us.

'Gaulish' commonly supposed a single Kymric language.

'Gaulish' itself has been commonly regarded as a single language, and of the Kymric type. There is, indeed, abundant evidence that *a* language of that type was spoken in Gaul. For instance, we know that *petorritum*, 'a four-wheeler', was a Gaulish word, and the initial *p*, standing for original *qu*, stamps it as Kymric: for, while Welsh has *pedwar*, Breton *pevar*, and Cornish *pesvar*, the original *qu*, preserved in Latin *quattuor*, is represented by *c* in Old Irish *cethir*, *cethar*-, Modern Irish *ceathair*, Highland Gaelic *ceithir*, and by *k* in Manx *kiare*.

But *qu* is found in 'Gaulish'.

The idea that all Gaulish was of the same type was probably in great measure due to the influence of the 'Grammatica Celtica'. In Ebel's grand recast of that monument of Zeuss's labour, erudition, and insight, we find it stated that *qu* is absolutely unknown in Gaulish names¹; and yet it exists in the name of the Aquitani, mentioned in the very first sentence of Caesar's 'Gallic War' as inhabiting one of the three divisions of Gaul (Aquitania). It exists also in the name of a river which crosses almost the entire breadth of France—the Sequana, our Seine—and in the related name of one of the chief tribes of Gaul, the Sequani.

Ignored discoveries of Jakob Grimm and Pictet.

As far back, indeed, as 1847, Jakob Grimm had shown that the charms contained in the work of Marcellus of Bordeaux, a physician who wrote soon after 400 A.D., were in a language virtually identical with Old Irish. And, in a communication to Grimm, Pictet afterwards proved that Indo-European *p* was

¹ 'Qv etsi nec in gallicis nec in britannicis (aut vetustis aut recentioribus) nominibus vocabulisve unquam invenitur,' p. 66.

retained by one of these charms in the combination *pr*¹, in which all the mediaeval and modern Keltic languages have lost it. In fact, the inference was that Indo-European *p* was not lost in Goidelic till the 5th cent. at earliest. Yet this evidence of the preservation of *p*, vitally important as it was to the history of Keltic, seems to have been of late completely overlooked or forgotten, and was quite unknown to myself until after I had written out the whole of the studies to which these present remarks are an introduction.

In 1896, however, Macbain in his Gaelic Dictionary inserts among the *Q group* by the side of *Gàdelic* 'Dialects in Spain and Gaul (?)', and towards the end of 1897 a bronze calendar was found² in or close to the territory of the Sequani which made it useless to explain away any longer the inference suggested by the *q* in their name. The calendar had a month called *Equos* answering approximately to February, and it seemed as if this might mean the same as Lat. *aequos* 'temperate', and so might contain a *qu-* stem. The calendar likewise had a sentence containing the word *quimon*, or at any rate the consecutive letters *qui*. Remarkable also was the word *ciallos*, apparently in the sense of Ir. *ciall* 'total', which is probably from a *qu-* stem. Finally, there were three words beginning with *p*, in all of which it was capable of being explained as Indo-European. The date was apparently about the middle of the 1st century A.D.

Goidelic with Ind. Eur. *p* at Bordeaux in the 5th cent.

Macbain admits possible Goidelic dialects in Spain and Gaul.

Sequanian (Coligny calendar) was Goidelic with possible Ind.-Eur. *p*.

But in the same number of the *Revue Celtique* which contained the Coligny calendar (Apr. 1898) was printed an inscription destined to have much more decisive results. It was a lead tablet, inscribed on both sides in Roman cursive, found in a well at Rom in Poitou, and deciphered with monumental industry by M. Camille Jullian. Following up a previous pamphlet on 'Sequanian', I was able to publish in 1900 in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* a complete translation of the Rom tablet³. Its Goidelic character was shown by the genitive *cialli*, of which the nominative *ciallos* had already been found in Sequanian, and it had a remarkable number of

Pictavian (Rom tablet) was Goidelic with certain Ind.-Eur. *p*.

¹ See Appendix I, 'On an Old Goidelic (Biturigan) charm in Marcellus of Bordeaux'. The proof is *prosag* = 'come forth', imperative of the verb which appears in Irish as *rosagim*.

² See Appendix II, 'Sequanian'.

³ See Appendix III, 'Pictavian'—particularly p. 133.

words beginning with Indo-European *p*. It might indeed be suggested that some of these were from Latin; but *priavimo* 'we have loved' and *compriato* 'beloved' are from a stem not found in Latin at all, but found (with *p* lost) in Keltic: the writing could not be placed before the late 3rd cent. .

Tattooing
among the
Goidels:
meaning
of *Pict*.

I went on to show from coins that the Sequanians, Pictavians, and various peoples in N. W. Gaul tattooed themselves; I suggested that among the Kelts this might be a sign of the Goidelic branch; and I derived the names of the *Pictōnes*, *Pēctōnes*, *Pictāvi*, or *Pēctāvi*, together with that of the insular *Picti*, from the Indo-Eur. stem *peik-* 'tattoo'. And, instead of treating the *p*'s in insular Pictish as degraded *b*'s, I now explained them as relics of Indo-Eur. *p*.

Goidels
and Ind.-
Eur. *p* at
Verona.

I furthermore equated the first element in the Pictavian name *VIIPOTALO(S)* and in the name *VEPISONES* found in the Verona inscription; produced other grounds for believing that the Cenomani of Verona preserved Indo-Eur. *p*; and maintained that the entire Keltic-speaking area of the ancient world ought to be examined afresh from this new standpoint—that *p* was not necessarily a mutated *qu* or *b*, but might be original, and a sign of Goidelic occupation.

Traces of *p*
in *Heluetii*,
Heluii,
Haedui.

It should be added that even in the non-Goidelic branch some traces of *p* have been suggested. The forms *Heluetii*, *Heluii*, *Haedui* are of constant occurrence, beside *Eluetii* and *Aedui*. In the first two we may have the Keltic stem '⟨p⟩eluviel' (Stokes, *Urkelt. Sprach.* 41); in the last we seem to have the 'Gallica *p(a)eda*'—a short cloak—of Martial I. 92, 8¹. See also p. 171 for the *h* of 'Hercunia silva'.

Goidels

In the studies which follow, and which are written down in the order in which they were made, I have limited myself to the British isles and N. Gaul, with only incidental references to S. Gaul, Spain, and N. Italy. I myself may never have time to pursue the subject further, but whoever works at his ancient atlas and his Holder from this new standpoint, can reconstruct the Keltic ethnology of Western and Central Europe. He will find, for instance, that the *p*-preserving Goidels were

¹ I owe my knowledge of this word to Prof. W. M. Lindsay, who gives *peda* in his edition but now writes that it = Gothic *paida* and should be spelt *paeda*. For the termination of *Haeduus* cf. such Latin examples as *mutuus*, *riguus*, *vacuus*, beside *mutā-re*, *rigā-re*, *vacā-re*.



MENAPII
GALLIA
BELGICA

The Menapian settlements in Ireland and Man 9

settled quite as far east as the neighbourhood of Budapest, where and Ind.-Eur. *p* in Hungary. close to each other he will find Aquincum¹ and Campona, the former with *qu*, the latter an adj. (with the common Celtic termination -*on-*) from the stem seen in Lat. *campus*.

The Menapian settlements.—After proving that the Pictavians of the late-3rd or 4th cent. spoke a Celtic language bristling with Indo-European *p*, I asked myself 'What is the proof that Irish did not retain Indo-Eur. *p* up to the beginning of the 4th cent.?' When did Ind.-Eur. *p* begin to be lost in Irish?

I turned to Ptolemy, who is believed to have written about A.D. 120, and found that he mentions the *Μανάπιοι* as dwelling on the E. coast of Ireland (II. 2 § 8). He also speaks of *Μαυαπία πόλις* (§ 7), which is identified with Wicklow, and only a few miles N. of Wicklow is *Clonmannan* (*Clon* = meadow). There is also a Carrigmannan on the Slaney about 5 miles above Wexford (Joyce, *Irish names of places*, 2nd S. 294). The *Μανάπιοι* of E. Ireland.

Next I note that the Isle of Man(n) is called Monapia by Pliny (IV. 103). And the name *Μοϋαπία* given to it in our text of Ptolemy (II. 2 § 10) represents, I suspect, a scribal error for *Μοναπια*² 'the Monapian isle'. The native Manx name of it is *Mannin*. The stem in Irish is *Manann* giving *Manann*, *Manand* in the gen., *Manainn* in the dat., *Manaind*, *Manatnd* in the acc.³ Monapia (I. of Man).

Now the Isle of Man is in Caesar *Mona* and in O. Welsh *Manau*. But there is another Manau distinguished from it in O. Welsh literature by the name of *Manau Guotodin*, i.e. *Manau sub Otadinis*, 'Sub-Otadine Manau'⁴. In Highland Manau Guotodin in Scotland.

¹ Also Acincum. -*inco-* is a common Celtic suffix—see Holder, who likewise gives a proper name Acinco-vepus, i.e. 'water (?) -crow', in which we have another instance of Indo-Eur. *p*.

² A defective Π being read as ΠΙ. The alternative reading ΜΟΝΑΟΙΔΑ is obviously impossible, and is derived from ΜΟΝΑΠΙΝΑ through the loss of the first stroke of the Π and the last of the second Ν. Losses of this kind were probably caused not so much by original faintness of ink as by its corrosion through the excessive amount of vitriol contained in it. Many MSS. of the 6th cent., both Latin and Greek, become in places almost illegible from this cause. The vitriol eats the ink out of the parchment and often pierces the parchment itself.

³ See Zeuss-Ebel, *Gram. Celt.* 265^b, 267^a, the Four Masters under 1060, 1096, 1154, and Tigernach under 1061.

⁴ Guotodin is compounded of the preposition *gu(o)* = *vo*, and the name of Ptolemy's Ōtadini.

Gaelic this is said to be Manann. One of its boundaries was Clac(k)mannan, i. e. (boundary-) 'Stone of Mannan'. Slaman-nan doubtless also contains the name¹. Stokes (Bezzen-berger's *Beiträge*, XVIII. 104) gives Irish forms of the gen. as Manond, Manand, Manonn, Manann, and of the dat. (loc.-abl. ?) Mano.

Meneted
(Menteith)
in Scot-
land.

The same stem may perhaps underlie Menteith, the name of the great district W. of Clackmannanshire. That has nothing to do with the river Teith, which is Taich in Gaelic, and the earliest form (before 1200) is Meneted (Johnston, *Place-names of Scotland*). Macbain (*Gaelic dict.* xxxv) holds that initial *p* is represented by *t* in Highland Gaelic *torc*, *turlach*, &c., and we have *fitheach* = *flach* = *veipakos* (see Appendix III, p. 145). That the *t* between vowels has not become *th* would be due to its representing *t-t* = *p-p*, Meneped, 'Menapia(n) plain'², where *ped* would be 'E. Ir. *ed*, root *ped*; Gr. *πεδlov*, a plain' (Macbain, 134). 'The *t* of a root is preserved when the suffix begins in *t*, as in . . . *ite*, O. Ir. *ette*, *pet-tiâ' (id. xxxvi)³.

Dun-
manyn.

Gumany.

Prof. Rhŷs has directed me to certain other apparent traces of this Manann in North Britain. According to Skene (*Four ancient books of Wales*, I. 452) Dalmeny on the Firth of Forth was formerly Dumanyn, and I find it given in Johnston's *Place-names of Scotland* as 'c. 1180 Dumanie; 1250, Dunmanyn': I believe that *Dūmanie* (= Dunmanine) must be the correct reading for the former. Skene also says that 'In an old list of the churches of Linlithgow, printed by Theiner, appears "Vicaria de Gumany". This name might = gumany, 'at Many'. Skene suggests that it is the 'kaer gofannon' of a Welsh poem (II. 303), and this may be so: but Welsh *go* = Gaelic *fo*, not *gu*, and Gofannon would = 'below Mannon' (just as Guotodin = 'below the Otadini'). Gofannon seems to me more likely to = Gobannion, i. e. Abergavenny.

Mona
(Anglesey).

Next we have another Mona, namely Anglesey. Pliny (II. 187, IV. 103) and Tacitus (*Agr.* 14, 18, *Ann.* XIV. 29) call

¹ It does not = Sliab Manann: the maps show no sign of a Sliab, and the oldest known form, Slethmanin (1250) is practically decisive. See now p. 172.

² Perhaps the Campus Manand of Tigernach, where the Saxons defeated the Picts, about 710. See further p. 171.

³ See also Pedersen (*Aspirationen i Irsk*, 146, &c.), for *t* = *th* + *th*, *th* + *t*, and *t* + *th*.

it Mona, Ptolemy (II. 2 § 10) *Mōna*. The printed text of Dion Cassius (LXII. 7 § 1, 8 § 1) calls it *Mōva*, and in Welsh it is *Môn*. But Dion is a century later than Ptolemy, and Kymric *Mōna* would have given *Mûn* in Welsh (see Zeuss-Ebel, *Gram. Celt.* 99). I can only suppose that *Môn* has arisen out of *Mōn* as *sôn* out of *sōn* (Lat. *sōn-us*); that *Mon* itself is from Lat. *Mona*, and that this is from an older *Mona(p)a*.

Remarkable also is the name of the waterway between Anglesey and the mainland. Now called the Menai Straits, in the Book of Taliessin (Skene, *Four anc. books*, I. 299, 301, II. 199, 150) it is simply *Menei*. I believe this to mean the Menapian¹ channel: for the vowel-infection cf. Welsh *meneich* = *monachi*, and *menegi* from root *manac* (Zeuss-Ebel, 82, 83).

The Menapii were Belgae, and we shall later on in this book find abundant evidence of their settlement in Ireland and Scotland in place-names and person-names containing the word *bolg*, which means both a bag (Lat. *bulga*) and a Belgian (Lat. *Belga*). Now in Welsh *bolg*, 'bag', has become first *boly* (Zeuss-Ebel, 140) and then *bol*. 'In Wales, where the word takes the same form of *bōl* as the Welsh for belly, we have a well-established group of such place-names in the middle of Anglesey, as Cors y Bol, the swamp of the Bol, Rhos y Bol, the moor of the Bol, and Pen-bol; also Llanol, formerly Llanvol, the church of Bol' (Rhŷs, *Celtic Britain*, 265). In such names we have abundant evidence that Anglesey was once inhabited by Belgae.

The Menai Straits.

The Menapii Belgae.

Bol in Anglesey place-names = Belgian.

Passing to S. Wales, we find that St. David's was called *Meneu*, which in the early 12th cent. MS. of the *Annales Cambrie* has become *Miniu*². And Ptolemy's name for St. David's Head, *Ὀκταπίταρον* or *Ὀκταπόταρον*, meaning 'Eight-armed', from the stems of *oktō* (Stokes, *Urkelt*.

Meneu (St. David's).

¹ Possibly from one side or other of the Menai Straits came the emperor Carausius, a pilot by training, and 'civis Menapiae'. There was a much later Carausius Caesar whose name is on a barbaric coin, probably of the year 409, found at Richborough (A. J. Evans in *Arch. Cambrensis*, 5th Ser., v. 138). The only other instance of the name is on a barbaric Latin tombstone at Penmachno, Caernarvonshire, less than 20 miles from the Straits, which I take to be the tombstone of this later king.

² It is also commonly stated that the *Annales* call it *Moni Iudeorum*. The passage is as follows:—'[601] an'. *Sinodus urbi/legion. Gre-gorius obiit in christo. David episcopus moni iudeorum.*' To state and discuss the difficulties attending it would take too long. On *Meneu* see further p. 172.

12 Widely scattered traces of the Irish Menapians

Sprachschatz, 48) and ‘*(p)ete ausbreiten’ (*ib.* 27), was certainly given by *p*-preserving Aryans.

Belgian
Menap(i)i.
Phonetics
of the
various
forms.

Lastly, we have the Měňăp(i)i on the coast of Belgium.

The history of the Goidelic and Kymric forms appears to me this. In the first syllable the vowel (when unaffected by a following *i*) varies from *e* (1st cent. B. C.) to *o* (1st cent. A. D.) and *a* (2nd cent. A. D.). Kymric made Mana(p)a into Manā, whence (regularly) Manau. Goidelic used the adjectival stem Manapn-, whence by assimilation Manann (through intermediate Manafn and Manahn¹).

Manannán.

The same Goidelic stem is of course preserved in the name Manannán². The ‘Yellow book of Lecan’³ names four Manannan’s or Manandan’s:—(1) Oirbsen (Orbsen) mac Alloit, a druid of the Isle of Arran, killed on the W. coast of Ireland: from his grave sprang Loch Oirbsen (Lough Corrib). (2) Mac Cirp, king of the Isles and of Manann. (3) Mac Lir: ‘a celebrated merchant . . . between Erin, and Alban, and Manann, and a Druid . . . and . . . the best navigator that was frequenting Erin . . . Et ideo Scoti et Britones eum dominum maris vocaverunt et inde filium maris’ i.e. *mac lir* ‘esse dixerunt’: he was worshipped as a god. (4) Mac Atgnai, ‘that had sustained the children of Usnech in Alban, and they had conquered what was from Manann northwards of Alban’.

Other
Menapian
traces in
Ireland.

There are many other places in Ireland with names suggesting Menapian occupation. There is a Carrickmannon in Co. Down, a county on the E. coast. In Co. Galway, which is on the W. coast, we find Mannin, Manninard (High Mannin), Manninbeg (Little Mannin), Manninmore (Great Mannin). There is also a Mannin in Co. Mayo, and one in Queen’s County—both inland districts—and a Mannin Island on the S.E.

¹ In Ir. *fairche* (O. Ir. *pairche*, from *parochia*) *p* has become *f*, but this may be due to the influence of syntactic aspiration, which may also account for the loss of *f* itself (through silent *fh*) in Ir. *iarmailte*, Highland Gaelic *iarmailt* = Middle Ir. *firmaint* = O. Ir. *firmáimint*, Lat. *firmamentum*. But original initial *p* is very frequently represented by *h* in O. Irish (e.g. in *haue*). Other instances of *f*- for *p*- given by Stokes (Bezenberger’s *Beiträge*, xviii. 73) are *paillium* and *faillium* from Lat. *pallium* and *falmaire* from Lat. *palmarium*.

² Also Moninnán, and (without the diminutive termination) Monann (Rhŷs, *Proc. of Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxxii. 350). And see p. 172.

³ Skene, *Anc. books of Wales*, i. 78: see also Cormac’s glossary, ed. Stokes, 114. The Irish text is on pp. 177–8 of the facsimile-edition.

coast (Co. Cork). Finally there are a North and South Manna in the inland county of Tipperary.

Here, then, is evidence of a single people whose name-^{Summary.} stem is Měnāp-, Mōnap-, or Manap- settling (1) on the Belgian coast, (2) in Pembrokeshire, (3) in Anglesey, (4) on the S.E. coast of Ireland, and possibly in other parts of it, (5) in the Isle of Man, (6) in Arran and the Isles, (7) on either side of the Forth estuary. From the position in which they are constantly found, it is clear that they were largely sailors. The language of the Isle of Man, both as extant in ogam-inscriptions and as still spoken, is evidence that they were Goidels¹. And their name contains Indo-European *p*!

For, if this *p* were not Indo-European, it must be either ^{The *p* must be Ind.-Eur.} a mutated *q* or a degraded *b*. But Goidelic does not mutate *q* to *p*, and neither a mutated *q* nor a degraded *b* could have produced Mona, Caesar's name for the Isle of Man.

As regards the meaning of 'Menapii', I suspect it to = ^{Derivation of Menapii.} 'Watermen', from the stems '*men denken, meinen' (Stokes, *Urkeit. Sprachschatz*, 209) and *ap-* 'water', found in Sansk. and Zend *āp-*, *ap-*, O. Prus. 'ape Fluss', and according to Fick (I. 173) perhaps 'Lat. aqua = got. ahva = ap-kā?'. I find that Holder (II. 165) gives the same interpretation to the *-ap-* in their name.

Two considerations affecting British and Irish history arise out of what has been said.

(1) At the beginning of the 5th cent. the Goidels of ^{Bearing on Welsh history.} N. Wales were conquered by the Kymry sweeping down from the north: their last stand was in Anglesey. In

¹ For the ogams see Kermodé's *Manx crosses*, 58-60. They contain *magi* and inflexions identical with those of the Irish ogam-inscriptions. There is also an inscription AVIT- MONOMENT- = Aviti monomenti (p. 55), drawn in Hübner's *Insc. Brit. Christ.*, p. 60.

According to Tigernach, the Ulaid (men of Ulster) were expelled into Man by Cormac the grandson of Conn in 254. We shall see later that Ulster had been occupied by Dumnonii, who were traditionally of the same stock as the Belgae and Picts, both of them tribes of *p*-preserving Kelts.

The early 5th cent. writer Orosius says 'a Scottorum gentibus habitatur' (I. 2, 81; Holder, II. 622). He calls it Mevania, which Holder rightly takes 'für Menavia *ad*. Manavia', and which shows that he got his information from Kymric sources.

Mr. A. W. Moore, in his recently published *History of the Isle of Man* (I. 46), has pointed out that Cormac in his Glossary represents a woman in that isle as talking Irish to Irish visitors about the years 649-662: she is called the daughter of Hua Dulsaine.

S. Wales Goidelic rule went on long after. The question has been argued whether these Goidels were invaders from Ireland who fastened on the outskirts of the tottering Roman empire, or natives. I feel that Prof. Rhŷs's theory that there was *some* much earlier Goidel population in N. and S. Wales¹ cannot be gainsaid. It is clear to me that from the 1st cent. B.C. Anglesey was a Menapian country, and almost certain that Pembrokeshire was Menapian from the 2nd cent. A.D..

Caernar-
von
Belgic?

There is also reason to suspect that the S. side of the Mena(p)i Straits was occupied by Belgians². Caernarvon succeeds a Keltic Segontium, and Caesar, who never got far N. of the Thames valley, speaks of the 'Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci' as among the peoples who submitted to him (*B. G.* v. 21 § 1). Now the Bibroci probably inhabited Berkshire (which seems to derive its name Berruc-scír from them), and when we find at Silchester on the borders of Berkshire a statue *Deo Her(culi) Saegon* . . . we assume that the Segontians were a branch of those Atrebatas from whom Silchester derived its name of Calleva Atrebatum. But the Atrebatas were Belgians, and, as we shall presently see, Goidels.

In a recent volume of *Y Cymmrodor* (xiv. 102) Prof. Kuno Meyer³ points out that in the Irish story of the expulsion of the Dessi we have 'an account of an Irish settlement in Wales during the third century (§ 11)'. The exact words as translated by him are 'Eochaid, son of Artchorp, went over sea with his descendants into the territory of Demed, and it is there that his sons and grandsons died. And from them is the race of Crimthann over there', and the story gives a succession of 14 generations descended in the male line from Eochaid. In 'The Language of the Continental Picts' (see Appendix IV, p. 137) I pointed out the obvious connexion of 'Demetae' with Pictavian *demtios*

The
Demetae.

¹ Possibly such forms as 'acymr. hedant „volant“ = *πέτονται* (Stokes, *Urkelt. Sprach.* 27) and 'corn. hethen' (*ib.* 28) = 'bird' are due to the influence of Goidelic neighbours with whom *p* had passed into *h* before final disappearance. I suggest that the Fr. *harnasquier*, Eng. 'harness', which Thurneysen has derived from '(p)arei-naskó binde vor' (*ib.* 36), may have come in the same way through Goidelic.

² See likewise my note ¹ on p. 11.

³ I find that Prof. Rhŷs in *The Welsh people* (30) had previously referred to this immigration, and had mentioned that Elen, wife of the 10th cent. Welsh king Howell the Good, was descended from the immigrants.

'servant', from the stem which gives Gr. ἡ-δαμᾶτος, Lat. *domitus*: 'they were the subject-race', I said. Now, however, I believe that the name is a masc. *ā*-stem with active sense, corresponding to Gr. -*ras*, -*της*. Stokes (Bezzenger's *Beitr.* XI. 154) accepts such names as Belgae, Volcae, Celtae as masc. *ā*-stems and attributes (79) a number of O. Ir. names to this declension. The name Demetae would then mean Binders or Tamers or Subduers or Slavers, and it seems quite possible for the last to be the true sense: we know from Caesar that real slavery existed in Gaul, and from the Confession of Patrick that it existed in Ireland.

(2) The Menapians were Belgae. According to Caesar (*B. G. V.* 12 § 1) the interior part of Britain was inhabited by natives, the coast by invaders from Belgium, almost all of whom were called by the names of the continental states from which they came.

The Belgae. Three¹ such names are known to us. That of the Belgae of S. England, from whom Winchester (Venta Belgarum) was called². That of the Atrebatas, from whom Silchester (Callewa Atrebatum) was called. And that of the Πάρισσοι, who clearly lived at the Humber's mouth (παρὰ τὸν Εὐλίμενον κόλπον, Ptol. II. 3 § 10).

That the Belgae were Kelts would be plain from their word *covinnus* alone (see Holder): did they preserve Ind.-Eur. *p*?

Pliny (XV. 51) says '(Mala) a conditione castrati seminis, quae spadonia appellant Belgae' (Holder, I. 376). This is in a passage on the varieties and names of apples, and the most natural inference from it is that they had the word *spadonia*, formed from the same stem as Gr. σπαδον-, Lat. spadon-. But Diefenbach (*Orig. Eur.* 421) has given instances of the borrowing of the Latin *spad*-stem in Welsh and Breton, while Irish and Highland Gaelic also have a *spadan*-stem (see O'Reilly, Highland Soc. Dict., and Macbain): and *spadonia* may have been a similar borrowing.

¹ Let me add that the name of the Ancalites looks like the negative to that of the Caletes, and suggests original neighbourhood.

² Holder's idea that Belgarum = 'belgischer hilfstrupper' (I. 378) is negated by his quotation (377) from Ptolemy, II. 3 § 13, Βέλγαι καὶ πόλεις Ἰσκαλῖς, "Ἰδατα Θερμά, Οὐέντρα. Venta I take as a rustic Latin word for 'market', it is a Low Latin and Spanish one: cf. Venta Icenorum, Venta Silurum, and a crowd of Venta's (e.g. V. del Moro) in Spain and Portugal. "Ἰδατα Θερμά is doubtless Bath.

But *Bratuspantium*
has Ind.-
Eur. *p*?

There is, however, another Belgic word containing *sp* which cannot conceivably be borrowed from Latin—the place-name Bratuspantium. It appears to mean ‘land awarded by arbitration’. The first part of it is ‘brātu- Gericht. gall. Bratu-spantium, Mandu-bratius . . . ir. bráth . . . acymr. braut’ (Stokes, 169), and it is found with abl. suffix -de as *βπαρονδε* in 8 ‘Gaulish’ inscriptions, with the meaning ‘*ex iudicio, ex imperio, iussu, ex decreto, by order, by decree*’ (Holder, I. 514). The latter part I derive from a stem *spen(s)t-*, *spōn(s)t-*, or *span(s)t-*, from the root of Gr. *σπένδομαι, σπονδή*, Lat. *spondeo, spepondi* (Lindsay, *Lat. lang.* 503), *sponsum*. Cf. Cantium, so called (I hold) on account of its chalk-cliffs, from ‘*kn(s)tos weiss. gall. Canto-bennicus Name eines Berges in der Auvergne*’, which again is from ‘*kond *knd’ (Stokes, 90). If this derivation of Bratuspantium is correct, the *p* in it is of course Indo-European¹.

Atrebatas.

The Atrebatas we know from their name to have been Kelts (Holder, I. 268), and there were Atrebatas in ancient Belgium. That they were Goidels is also suggested by a very singular fact. With one exception, no ogam-inscription has ever been found in these isles outside territory which is known to have been once in Goidelic occupation. The single exception is that of the stone found at Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester). Prof. Rhŷs reads it as Ebicato(s) (Maqui Muco(i), taking the left line first; I as (Maqui Muco(i) Ebicato(s), taking the right line first, as on the Pictish stone (see p. 73) found at Culbinsgarth in Bressay (Shetland). In either case the Calleva inscription is purely Goidelic².

The
Silchester
ogams.

Paris(i)i:
the name
has Ind.-
Eur. *p*.

The Paris(i)i. I believe that the name of the Parisi preserves Indo-Eur. *p* and means ‘Streamsidars’, the roots being found in ‘<p>ara vor „ante”’ (Stokes, 35) and ‘eisō gleite,

¹ Let me also call attention to Arquennes in Hainault as possibly preserving the Goidelic stem whence Ir. *airchenn*: see Stokes (17) under ‘arā-quendo-s, arā-quendi-s ein Ackermass’. Moreover Argenteau (between Liège and Maastricht) is found as Arkentell, Archenteyl (in 1219), and Erckentel (Grandgagnage, *Vocabulaire*, 5).

² In case any one should quote against me Epillus, the name of a son of Commius the Atrebat, as derived from *epos* for *equos*, let me say that in that case it ought to have only one *p*. I believe it to be compounded from a stem *pill-*, which perhaps = Ind.-Eur. ‘piso- drücken’ (Fick, I. 482), preceded by the preposition *ep-* = either *epi* or *en* (cf. Boeotian *ἐππασις*). Cf. At-pillos, Ate-pilla, Co-pillos, Em-pilles, E-pillos.

ströme' (Fick, I. 359). In Gaul they lived on both sides of the Seine, with their city in the middle: in Britain they clearly lived on the Humber estuary.

Their one city Περὸνᾶπλα, with Latin adj. Petueriensis, was at or near Patrington—i.e. the town of the Pát(wa)rings or men of Petuaria—a place with a harbour, on the N. coast of the Humber. Holder makes it come from *petuar-īð-s "der vierte", connecting it with Welsh *pedwar*, 'four': but why *should* it be called 'Fourth'? The fact is that this is another case of Indo-Eur. *p*. The stem is that of Irish (*p*)*ith*, gen. (*p*)*etho*, 'corn', found in the Sequanian word *petiux*, associated in the Coligny calendar with the reaping-month 'Rivos' (see Appendix II, pp. 118, 123-4), *petiu-* passing into *petu-*. The termination = that of Latin feminines in *-aria*, like *arenariae*, *argentaria*, *ferrariae*, *sulphuraria*, or more probably that of Latin neuters like *boarium*, *cibaria*, *columbarium*, *granaria*, *pomarium*, *viridarium*, *vivarium*. In fact it means 'The granaries', and the district round Patrington is described in Murray's Handbook for Yorkshire (114) as 'one sheet of rich grain in the autumn'.

The frequency of 'de Paris', 'de Parys', and 'de Parisius' as English surnames in the 13th cent., especially in Lincolnshire (Sir F. Madden, pref. to Math. Parisiensis *Hist. Angl.* III.) has led Sir J. H. Ramsay (*Foundations of England*, I. 61) to the ingenious inference that the name of the Parisi persisted as that of a district of N. Lincolnshire till that late period.

To these three peoples, the Belgae, Atrebates, and Parisi, let me add, as apparently *p*-preserving Kelts, the Īcēni.

The Īcēni may once have lived on the river Itchin in Hampshire (as the Sēquāni once on the Sēquāna), but are found by us in the region of Norfolk. The name of their 1st cent. king, Prasutagus¹—the husband of Boudicca—I regard as containing Ind.-Eur. *p*. Their town Περὸνᾶπλα has Ind.-Eur. *p*.

The Coritāni.—Between the Icenī and Parisi come the Kopitavoi or Kopitavoi² of Ptolemy (II. 3 § 11). From their

¹ It probably means 'Very good raider', from Ind.-Eur. *pro*, Sansk. and Lithuanian *pra*, Irish *ro*, *ru*, *ra*, 'very'; 'su- wohl, gut' (Stokes, 304); and '*tag nehmen' (id., 121).

² Minuscul *v* was ordinarily written like *u* with a tail to it: the latter of these two readings arises from this tail having been eaten away or faintly written.

18 'Oppidum'. Tribes named from numbers?

Their towns
Lindon
and Ratai.

position on the coast they should belong to the same Picto-Belgic family, and I submit that their name is simply Qrtanoi, Cruitni (see Appendix III, p. 148). The names of their cities were Lindon and Ratai. The only other Keltic Lindon was a town of the Damnonioi north of the Forth, and Ratai is obviously from the *rāt-* stem ('earth-wall') so well known in Goidelic (Stokes, *Ursk. Spr.* 226) but not nearly so well in Kymric.

There are two conjectures which I have to add respecting tribes in the south of England.

The word
oppidum
Keltic
with Ind.-
Eur. *p*?

'**Oppidum**'.—Caesar (*B. G.* v. 21) says that he received embassies from the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi: 'ab iis cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassiullauni abesse . . . oppidum autem Britanni uocant cum siluas impeditas uallo atque fossa munierunt'. The natural interpretation of this is that some at least of these tribes were *p*-preserving Kelts who used a word similar to Lat. *oppidum*. The original meaning of *oppidum* was certainly a barred place; for Naevius (3rd cent. B.C.) called by that name the part of the circus from which the chariots were let loose, afterwards known as the *carceres*. It is possible that Caesar's 'impeditas', containing the same *ped-* stem as *oppidum*¹, gives his idea of the derivation of the Keltic word. And I submit the following from Stokes's *Urskelt. Sprachschatz*, 28-9, '*(<p>ed fassen . . . <p>adâð etwa "festige" ir. í-adaim ich schliesse', where the Irish word represents *epípad-*: *epi* and *op* are apparently the same preposition (Lindsay, *Lat. language*, 585).

Novantes,
Trinovantes,
Dekantai:
number-
names?

The Novantes and Galloway Piets.—In S.E. England we have the Trinovantes², in S.W. Scotland the Novantes or Novantai³, in N. Wales the Decanti⁴, in N. Scotland the Dekantai. Is it an accident that these names appear to contain stems meaning 'thrice 9', '9', '10'? I hold not. Many reasons for their names might be guessed. For instance, these

¹ Other forms of the Latin word are *opped-* and *oppod-*.

² So Tacitus: Caesar's Trinobantes probably indicates that the *v* was English *v*, not Latin (= Eng. *w*).

³ The name is found only in the ambiguous gen. pl. .

⁴ See Rhys, *Rhind lectures*, 68. The oldest MS. of the *Annales Cambrie* mentions the Arx Decantorum = Degannwy, which represents Decantovi-on or -a.

The Novantes and Galloway Picts. The Brigantes 19

tribes may have been divided into 27, 9, and 10 clans respectively; or may have been ruled by so many chiefs. And, if it be presumable that they belonged to the same branch of the Keltic family, that branch would be Goidelic. Gaelic is vernacular in the Dekantai district, and we have no evidence that it was ever not so. We have no evidence that the Trinovantes were Kymric. The Novantes occupied a country in which we afterwards find the Galloway Picts: in the Annals of Ulster under 1199 and 1234 the inhabitants are called Gallgaidhel i.e. Foreign Goidels (Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, lxxx), and in Welsh the Book of Taliessin gives us Gallwydel (Skene, *Four anc. books*, II. 301): it is from Latinized derivatives of this latter (Skene has pointed out) that the name Galloway is derived, and the prae-English place-names are Gaelic. As late as 1138 the Galloway Picts appear in history. Richard of Hexham describes the army of William, king of Scotland, in that year as made up 'de Normannis, Germanis, Anglis, de Northymbranis et Cumbris de Teswetdala et Lodonea, de Pictis qui vulgo Galleweiensens dicuntur et Scottis'; during a dissension in that army 'Picti ipsum regem cum suis extinguere minabantur'; while at the Battle of the Standard 'In fronte belli erant Picti'.

The
Galloway
Picts.

Mentioned
in 1138.

From the Picts, however, I must turn for a while to the E. coast of England north of the Humber.

The Brigantes.—Beyond that river we find coins with the legend VEP CORF i.e. VEP. COR. FILIVS, which may have been struck either by the Parisi or by the Brigantes¹; and I hope that my 'Language of the Continental Picts' has established² that VEP (= 'Raven') is from Ind.-Eur. *veip-*. There were Brigantes on the E. coast of Ireland (Ptolemy, II. 2 § 6—Holder,

The
Brigantes.

² Ind.-Eur.
p: *Vep*,

¹ Prof. Rhŷs, no doubt rightly, has derived from them that part of Northumbria, N. of the river Wear, which was afterwards called Bernicia. He regards 'the Anglo-Saxon Bærnicas' as 'the English pronunciation of the Welsh equivalent *Breñnych* or *Brenneich*' (*Celtic Britain*, 111). But the transposition in the first syllable seems to have taken place in Welsh itself; for the MSS. of Nennius c. 61 have 'Guurth Berneich', 'Gurd Birnech', and 'Bernech, Anglice . . . Bernicia'.

The sequence *-ant-* in the names Brigantes, Trinovantes, Novantæ, Decantæ, is no ground, at that date, for maintaining them to have been Kymric: we have *ant* and *ont* in Pictavian, and the Goidelic-speaking Marcellus of Bordeaux writes 'sive etiam vermiculos habeant aut brigantes, qui cilia arare et exulcerare solent' (8. 127).

² See Appendix III, pp. 143-5.

Corstopi-
tum,

and
Procolitia.

I. 535). And on the E. side of Hadrian's wall we have the Roman station Corstopitum, which I take to mean 'Crooked Pine', from a participial *corsto-*, related to 'q'erso- verquer' (Fick, I. 386), and 'pitu-s Fichte' (*ib.* 481). Not far off is Procolitia, the name of which seems to be a non-Latin formation, but nevertheless suggests the same Ind.-Eur. stems as those of *pro* and *colere, cultus*: for the certainty of *pro* in Goidelic see *prosag* in Appendix I, p. 113.

Paegna-
laech.

Northumbrian Goidelic.—Goidelic was spoken in Northumbria as late as the early 8th cent. For Bede says that bishop Tuda was buried 'in monasterio quod dicitur Paegna-laech' (*Hist. eccl.* III. 27—Holder, II. 921), and the context makes it clear that this was in Northumbria¹. This Paegna-laech is simply 'Laymen's (? kiss of) peace' or 'Warriors' (? kiss of) peace.' *Na laech*, 'of the laymen' or 'of the warriors', is absolutely identical with Irish. *Paeg* = Lat. *pax*, which gives in O. Ir. *póc* 'kiss', 'i. pác quasi pax i. e. a páce' (Cormac's glossary), in Highland Gaelic not merely *pòg* but *pàg* (gen. *pàig*), and in Manx *paag* only. Hence locative-dative *pàig* or *paeg*.

Pictish
a mere
dialect of
Goidelic.

Perhaps
kept Ind.-
Eur. *p* to
Columba's
time.

The Picts.—Now we know that in this same Northumbria, and at this very time, Pictish was spoken. It was spoken, of course, by the Galloway Picts, and it was also spoken, as we shall see, near Abercorn in Lothian. When I published, in 1896, a little book on Pictish inscriptions, I did not know enough to avoid elementary errors, partly due to following O'Reilly; I gave some quite impossible derivations; and I explained all the *p*'s as degraded *b*'s. But the main theory, and the explanations themselves, were substantially true, and insular Pictish, like Pictavian, was a Goidelic dialect—only with Indo-European *p* preserved to historic times (as in Pictavian) and in a certain class of ancient place-names even to our own day. It was as near as possible to contemporary Irish; but, if it kept any *p*'s to Columba's time, that one difference of itself might make him sometimes need an

¹ The place has never been identified: 'Finchale' is phonetically impossible. The Peterborough Chronicle, written in 1116–23, using the *p*-shaped A.S. form of *w*, calls it 'Wagele' by mistake for Pagele; Gaimar has 'Paggel'; Henry of Huntingdon 'Wemalet' or 'Weinalet', which Plummer (Bede, II. 196) rightly takes to be a corruption of Peinalec.

interpreter¹. For, although every Englishman knows the line

Peter Piper pick'd a peck of pepper,

what Englishman would understand

Eter Iër ick'd an eck of eër?

I shall now place the character of the language beyond dispute, and shall show that it stands to Highland Gaelic in exactly the same relation in which Anglo-Saxon stands to modern English. Stands to
Highland
Gaelic as
Anglo-
Saxon to
English.

And I shall begin with the place-name ‘Peanfahel’, which is supposed to mean ‘Head of vallum’ and to prove it to have been a Kymric or semi-Kymric dialect.

Peanfahel.—Bede (*Hist. eccl.* I. 12) describing the northern Roman wall says ‘Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Aebbercurnig ad occidentem in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur’. The Welshman Nennius (c. 796) says that this wall ‘vocatur Britannico sermone Guaul’. And MSS. C and L of Nennius have this further statement—‘id est a Pengual quae villa Scottice Cenail, Anglice vero Peneltun dicitur, usque ad ostium fluminis Cluth et Cair Pentaloeh², quo murus ille finitur rustico opere’. Peanfahel.
Pennel-
tun.

Pengual.
Cenail.

Pengual certainly may = ‘Head of vallum’, and Cenail may

¹ Adamnan, *Vit. Columb.*, I. 33; II. 32. But Reeves points out that on four other occasions no interpreter is mentioned (II. 33, 34, 35; III. 14).

In I. 33, when Columba is in Skye, an old man arrives in a boat and receives the word of God from Columba ‘per interpretem’, ‘fluviusque eiusdem loci in quo idem baptisma acceperat, ex nomine eius, Dobur Artbrani usque in hodiernum nominatus diem, ab accolis vocitatur’. Of course Dobur = Ir. *dobar*, O. Welsh *dubr*, ‘Water’, and of course Artbranan is a derivative of Artbran ‘Rock-raven’, an O. Ir. name compounded of *art* ‘stone’ and *bran* ‘raven’. Now *art* ‘stone’ is not found in Welsh, nor do I suppose any one holds that Skye was inhabited by Kymry. That it was inhabited by Irish is also unlikely seeing that ‘navigatio filiorum Gartnaith ad Iberniam cum plebe Scith’ is recorded by Tigernach under 667, Gartnait being a common Pictish name, but not, so far as I know, an Irish one. The Gartnait in question may have been the Pictish king so named who died about 663. Rhys (*Rhind lectures*, 84) says ‘In 581, Baedan mac Cairill died, who was king of the Ulidians or Irish Picts, and . . . is referred to . . . as deriving tribute from Munster, Connaught, Skye, and Man’.

Of course, if Stokes’s theory (followed by Macbain) that *-ān*, ogmic *-agn-* = *a(p)ogn-* were proved, it would follow that Ind.-Eur. *p* had at any rate *begun* to be lost in Skye in the latter part of the 6th cent. . But see p. 173.

² Kirkintilloch. Here also we have a place in which the Gael uses *kin* where the Kymro uses *pen*. In each language the name means ‘Fort at the head of the mound’ or ‘Fort on top of the hillock’.

The old argument from *Peanfahel*, do the same: for *ail* may = (*fh*)*ail*, *fh* being silent 'Scottice'. And, as the *fahel* of *Peanfahel* obviously represents 'vallum', it is inferred that *pean* = Welsh *pen* = Gaelic *cen*, 'head'. Now

pen and *cen* are from a *quenno*-stem: Goidelic (regularly) preserves the *qu* as *c*, Kymric (regularly) changes it to *p*: *ergo*, Pictish by using initial *p* shows itself to be partly or wholly Kymric. Can any argument be simpler or more conclusive?

Men have certainly been hung on evidence no stronger. Yet all the time *Peanfahel* is nothing but an equivalent of the Roman military term 'Pinna(e) valli' or 'Penna(e) valli'!

It is undisputed that Aebbercurnig is Abercorn, a seaside town on the Firth of Forth. It is also assumed, no doubt rightly, that *Cenail* = the modern Kinneil. *But in that case Peanfahel cannot possibly = Cenail.* For (1) the latter is over 6 English miles from Abercorn, instead of 'ferme' 2 of the shorter Roman ones; (2) the Ordnance Survey carries the site of the wall far E. of Kinneil. And the two MSS. which mention Pengaul and *Cenail* are 500 years later than Bede!

Any one who looks at the Ordnance map of Linlithgowshire will have little doubt that the wall ended on the rocky promontory now called Blackness—the military value of which is shown by the fact that on it stands a castle 'which is supposed by some antiquaries to mark the eastern extremity of Antoninus' Wall, and was long one of the most important fortresses in the S. of Scotland . . . was one of the chief forts of Scotland guaranteed by the Act of Union to be maintained permanently as a national strength . . . and in 1870-74, was transmuted into the nucleus of extensive works to serve as the central ammunition depot of Scotland' (Groome's *Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland*). *It is exactly the distance W. of Abercorn mentioned by Bede.*

The fact is that in the 500 years or more which elapsed between Bede's History (finished in 731) and the appearance of Kinneil (found in 1250 as Kinel) a large part of the W. end of the wall had doubtless disappeared, and it was quite possible to call a new farm or village 'Vallum-head' which was several miles from the original terminus.

One of the very two MSS. which contains the addition to Nennius says elsewhere 'Anglice vero dicitur Penlrou a flumine Kaldra usque ad Rimindaca'. Here Rimindaca obviously

The old argument from *Peanfahel*,

which = Lat. *Pinna(e)* or *Penna(e) valli*.

Peanfahel cannot be Kinneil.

It must have been Blackness.

Explanation of Kinneil.

'Penlrou' and 'Rimindaca'.

stands for *Rinn ind aca*, ‘Promontory of the mound’, i.e. Blackness. Does Penlrrou stand for something like Penelrōa = *pen (fh)el Roma*? Or is it miscopied for Peneltoū? No river now known as the Calder comes within miles of any part of the Vallum, but perhaps the Black Burn, flowing into the sea just E. of Blackness, is meant: for the Kinneil river no older name is known than its present one, the Avon.

We have nothing, then, to do with the 13th cent. names of another place, but only with Peanfahel and Penneltun. The latter is obviously composed of a vernacular *Pennel* (which is not English) + A.S. *tún*. The vernacular of the locality when Bede wrote was certainly Pictish, for he would otherwise have had no reason to mention the *Pictish* name of Penneltun at all: I may add that in 685 Abercorn was the seat of Trumuini, bishop of the Picts on the opposite coast of the Forth (Bede, IV. 26). Consequently we seem to have *two* Pictish names, one Peanfahel, the other spelt in A.S. Pennel: as *Penn* obviously corresponds to *Pean*, one would expect *el* to correspond to *fahel*. *It does so, and the manner of the correspondence is evidence that Pictish was a Goidelic language.*

Penneltun.

Pennel = Peanfahel, a Goidelic correspondence.

The Irish equivalent to *vallum* is *fál*; the gen. might be *fáil*, *fáel*, or *fél*. But in certain cases (e.g. when it begins the second element of a compound name, as here) initial *f* is ‘aspirated’, and is then absolutely silent: in such cases, it is (1) omitted altogether, or (2) written with a ‘punctum delens’ above it, as in modern Irish, or (3) written in the ordinary way. Consequently Pennel stands for Penn(fh)el. This cannot be Welsh, for in the Welsh of Bede’s time Lat. *vallum* would have been *vāl*, *vaul*, *guāl*, or *guaul*, and, although the *v* or *gu* might have been got rid of, the *ā* would not have become *e*.

The Highland Gaelic equivalent of *vallum* is *fàl*, gen. *Fahel* *fàil*. The Pictish inscriptions show us that the gen. of *maqq* (which is of the same declension in Irish) was (*m*)*aig*, (*m*)*æc*, *meqq*, and *m’qq*¹. In Highland Gaelic initial *f* suffers

and el = fhail, valli.

¹ The first two are on the Shevack stone, and *m* is lost by aspiration as in modern *Mac Ic* for *Mac Uic* = Mac Mhic. The third is on the St. Ninian’s stone and the fourth on the Kilmaly stone. In the inscriptions *e* for *ai* is incessant, e.g. *ett* and *èt* for *àitt*, *Drosten* for *Drostein*, *Nehhtonn* for *Naihton* (Bede’s *Naiton*), *Oðdre(v)* for *Oðrai(bh)*.

aspiration as in Irish, but this loss is always expressed, and expressed not by a 'punctum delens' but by *fh*. Consequently the sound of the genitive in Pictish might be *el* and the writing *fhæl* or *fhael*. And it is possible that Bede, or his authority, or his scribe, had before him *fæel* and brought down the *h* after the wrong letter¹. Stokes (Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XVIII. 114) has taken the *ahē* to represent 'the umlaut of long *ā*': in the two dozen or so of insular Pictish inscriptions known to us *h* always represents an aspirated consonant, but in Pictavian it seems to have been used to prevent hiatus in the combinations *eti heiont*, *poura heiont*. And compare Pictish Ehirb for Eirb (pp. 108, 178).

Pean and
penn =
penna or
pinna.

We are now sure that *fahel* and *el* mean 'of (the) *vallum*': what do *pean* and *penn* mean? These are almost certainly a single word, and that a substantive. It is a Goidelic borrowing from the Latin *penna* or *pinna*. See Caesar, *B. G.* VII. 72 'Aggerem et uallum extruxit: huic lorica *pinna*sque adiecit', Vergil, *Aen.* VII. 159 'Castrorum in morem *pinnis*² atque aggere cingit'. *Pinna* and *penna* are double forms of the same word (Lindsay, *Lat. language*, 229) and 'in veterib. libris promiscue unum pro altero ponitur' (Forcellini, *Lexicon*). And in the sense of 'pen' it survives in Irish and Highland Gaelic to this day: see Macbain (246) 'peann, a pen, so Ir., E. Ir. *penn*, W. *pin*; from Lat. *penna*'. The Goidelic forms could be equally derived from *pinna*. Of the two forms preserved by Bede, *penn* represents the pronunciation when the English first borrowed the name from the Picts, and *pean* the Pictish pronunciation of Bede's own time.

Materials
for ascer-
taining the
affinities
of Pictish.

Pictish geographical names.—From the destructive I pass to the constructive. We have abundant materials for deciding whether Pictish was or was not (1) Aryan, (2) Keltic, (3) Goidelic, in (a) the place-names recorded by ancient geographers and one or two mediaeval documents, (b) the person-names given by one or two ancient historians and in mediaeval chronicles, (c) the inscriptions. For me the

¹ Superposed **h** for *h* is as early as Isidore of Seville (7th cent.).

² Cf. Ptolemy's Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον (? the Pinnatis of Geog. Rav. p. 535, 21), a town of the Vacomagi of N. Scotland, probably a deserted camp of Agricola's.

inscriptions are all-sufficient, but unluckily they are not divided into words, and, when you can divide an inscription in any way you like, it is wonderful what results—at least negative results—you can get. *Take the very words I am writing.* Run them together, and then divide them thus:—*Ta kethew erywor dsi amwri ting.* Are they English, or Teutonic, or even Aryan? And may they not have actual equivalents in some non-Aryan language? But the names of places and of persons do at least offer us single words, or short compounds; and consequently I shall prove the character and affinities of the Pictish language from these before interpreting the inscriptions written in it.

The geographical names antecedent to the first conflict with the Romans are very few, and two of them are either not Pictish at all or are altered to suit the language of Gaulish sailors of the Kymric branch who communicated them to the Greek geographers. These (Massilian?) sailors called the British isles after the leading race in them—the Qrtanoi; but in their Keltic all *q*’s became *p*, and so the isles appeared in Greek as νῆσοι Περ(τ)ανικαί¹. See also p. 173.

Earliest
geograph-
ical names.

Νῆσοι
Περ(τ)αν-
ικαί.

Orcades,

Not very different is the case of the *Orcades*. The termination is due to the Greek geographers and the analogy of the Cyclades and other insular groups, and the real name is seen in *fecht Orc*, *bellum for Orc-aib* (quoted by Stokes from the Annals of Ulster, 579, 708). There is an Irish *orc* ‘pig’, with diminutive *orcán*, and it is agreed that the Orc isles were the (P)orc isles: indeed the *h* in Holder’s *Innsi h Orc* is probably a relic of the *p*. Macbain takes them to be named from an abundance of the marine (*p*)orca in

¹ The later Greek spelling was with B, not P, and the Romans called Britain *Brittania*, *Brittannia*, or *Britannia*. Most Keltic scholars derive the Roman forms from the Britanni of N. Gaul (Pliny, iv. 106) whom they suppose to have conquered part at least of the isle: and the later Greek form in *Bper-* they believe influenced by the Roman. Macbain, however, takes the Latin name to be blundered from the earlier Greek one. In neither Greek nor Latin is *p*- known to pass into *b*-, and in both languages the words beginning with *pr* are so much more numerous than those beginning with *br* that there was no temptation to make the change in this case. Nor in ‘Gaulish’ or Old Kymric is there any trace of *p*- becoming *b*-. As even in the earliest Welsh *ct* has become *id* or *ith* (Zeuss-Ebel, 150-1), is it possible that Brit(t)ones and Brit(t)ani come from Stokes’s ‘*m̃kto bunt... acymr. brith* (gl. *pictam*)’ (221), and that the Britons, strictly speaking, were the Kymric branch who painted themselves, as distinguished from the Goidelic who tattooed?

i. e. the
Pigs?

The isle
Orca.

their seas; but there is no adjectival termination. In my belief the Orkneys themselves are 'the pigs', because the cluster of small isles round the large one now called Mainland reminded sailors of a sow and her litter. Indeed a single isle Orca (= *porca*, 'sow') is mentioned in the late 8th cent. chronicle contained in the Chartres MS. 98 (and copied by Nennius in 796) as Orc: and the great Pictish tumulus of Maeshowe in Mainland is called in Old Norse Orkahaugr i. e. Orka-how. But, whatever is the derivation, the Gaulish mariners of Massilia were not of the *p*-preserving branch of Kelts, and so the name entered classical geography *p*-less.

Cālēdōnes.

We are on neutral ground with the name of the Cālēdōnes, from whom Caledonia was named, whence again Cālēdōnī and Καληδόνιοι (with occasional Calīd-, Calyd-), Greek and Latin poets being unanimous as to the length of the second syllable. I have seen no satisfactory derivation: the name looks to be made up of *Cal-*, which we shall find as the name of a prae-Roman king, and the suffix *-edon-* seen in so many names in Gaul. The connexion of this suffix with *white* (Candiedo, Vindedo), *green* (Aunedo, Viredo), and *brown* or some other dark colour (Donnedo), suggests a relation to personal adornment or appearance, and there may have been a Keltic analogue to the Greek καλός, 'handsome'.

Names in
Tacitus's
Agricola.

As regards the names first occurring in Tacitus's *Agricola*, the published text is derived solely from 3 MSS. of the later 15th cent., two of them apparently copied from the same original. But I have to thank Prof. Cesare Annibaldi for sending me the readings of the newly discovered 9th or 10th cent. Jesi MS..

Clota.

Clota, the Clyde, belongs to the root found in Gr. κλύ-δων, κλύ-ζω, Lat. *clu-o* (= purgo), *cloaca* (also *clouaca*): see Stokes, 102; Holder, I. 1046. And in Pictavian we have the adjective *clotu-vla*, 'flow-strong', of a fountain-goddess: see Appendix III, pp. 133, 136. Tacitus speaks of 'Clota et Bodotria diuersi maris aestibus per immensum reuectae' (§ 23): as the normal Latin river-gender is masculine, and that of *aestuarium* is neuter, we may be sure that we have in these feminines the natural Keltic gender, which agrees with that of Ir. *abann*, 'river'.

Bodotria (fem.), the Forth, is found thrice, but in Ptolemy *Bodotria*. we have *Bödēria* (once). It may arise, by dissimilation from *Bod-odria*, from the root which gives 'bodio-s gelb. ir. buide' (Stokes, 176) and 'odro-s dunkelgrau. ir. odor' (id. 50)¹. It would then mean 'Yellow-gray': cf. the river-name *Dubglas*, modern *Douglas*—which is also a compound of two colours. The Jesi MS. *once* has *Uodotria*.

'Usque ad *Tanaum* (aestuario nomen est)'. Three MSS. '*Tanaum*' (including the first hand of the Jesi one) have *Taum* in the margin, and one has 'Taus sive Tanaus' in the marginal index. The Firth of Tay, Ptolemy's *Taovia εἰρηυσις*, is certainly meant. Possibly Tacitus wrote *Tauam*, a scribe put *u* above the line as a correction to suit the gender of *aestuario*, and another ^{A corruption of} '*Tanaum*'? mistook this for an addition and misread the *u* as *n*: hence *Tanaum*. The name *Taua* apparently means 'Junction of rivers', from *to-*, *t'* = 'to' (Stokes, 132) and 'avo-s, avâ... Fluss' (Stokes, 23, quoting the Gaulish river-name 'Avos and the Breton Ava), or (rather, perhaps) from a verbal stem *av* = '*ab fließen' (Stokes, 11)²; for 'the many-headed Tay' first bears that name as it flows out of Loch Tay.

The Mons Graupius is suspiciously like the Dorsum Crup ^{Mons} of the 'Pictish chronicle' (Skene, 10), which was obviously ^{'Graupius'} in the same neighbourhood, since the abbat of Dunkeld and mormaer of Athol are the only two mentioned as falling in the battle fought there. And it reminds me also of the 'Monid chroibh' (Annals of Ulster) or 'Monaidh Craebi' (Tigernach—both genitives) where the Picts fought among themselves in 727, and which Reeves (Adamnan, p. 383) has ^{'Graupius'} identified with Moncrieffe (or Moncreiffe) Hill, 3¼ miles SSE. ^{should perhaps be} of Perth. I suspect the name to be Craupius. ^{Craupius.}

The Boresti were between the scene of the battle with *Boresti*. Calgacus and the winter-quarters of Agricola, and apparently on the shores of the Firth of Tay or Firth of Forth: for while among them Agricola gave orders to his admiral (§ 38). The name is otherwise unknown, and may be corrupt.

¹ Of course *bodio-* would be a modification of *bodo-*, and *odrio-* of *odro-*. Rhys thinks *Bodotria* connected with Welsh *budr*, 'dirty': 'It is probably the muddiest river in the kingdom' (*The Welsh people*, 113).

² Cf. Pliny's *Abobrica* and Ptolemy's *Αβοβρίττα*, together with *b* = final *v* in Irish (Zeuss-Ebel, 54), and *Tarb* = *Tarv-* in Pictavian (see p. 131). And see pp. 158-9, 163, for *au*, 'flow', in Amélie-les-Bains tablets.

Ptolemy's
place-
names.

The Ptolemaic Pictish nomenclature is so extensive that I must be excused from discussing it name by name, partly because this has already been done by Macbain (*Trans. of the Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, XI. 267–88) and Stokes (Bezzenger's *Beitr.* XVIII. 86 &c.¹), partly because many of the readings are so uncertain, and partly because experience has taught me the importance of knowing all about a place before trying to explain an obscure name. But I will give a selection *that shall include every name which appears at first sight opposed to my own theories.*

Ptolemaic names certainly Aryan and potentially Keltic.

Κορναῖοι.

(a) **Tribes.**—Κορναῖοι, in the furthest North, the name also of a tribe in the West Midlands of England: they may have carried horns slung round them, or have worn head-dresses decorated with horns. Σμέρται, in Sutherland, who probably *smeared* themselves with whale-oil either to polish their skins or to keep out the cold: see Stokes, 317, under 'smeru-'.
 Σμέρται.

Οὐακο-
μάγοι.

Οὐακομάγοι, who inhabited *empty* (i.e. treeless or sparsely peopled) *lands*: see Stokes under '*vak' (260) and² 'magos-' (198)—both Bradley (according to Macbain) and Rhŷs have already given the same derivation. The name of the

Δέκανται.

Δέκανται I have previously dealt with. It not only equates with that of the Decanti in N. Wales, but also (Rhŷs, *Rhind lectures*, 68) with the gen. sing. found in Maqui Decceti (Ireland), Maccu Decceti (Anglesey), Macco Decheti (Devon)—in all of which it is preceded by a Goidelic word. This latter name (in which earlier *ant* is represented by *et*) is 'a great name' in Ireland, 'especially in Munster, as the Ogam inscriptions of that province go to prove' (Rhŷs). 'It is very remarkable that a people in the part of the island'—Britain—'which was the most certainly Pictish should have been called Decantæ, that is to say Decheti, and that a powerful people of southern Ireland should have had as their chieftains men styled individually Macco

¹ I shall refer to this article in future as 'Stokes (B.B.)': such references as 'Stokes (25)' will be to his *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*.

² This, however, is an -s stem, and unless Ptolemy's form is incorrect we must suppose an earlier stem *mag-*.

Decheti' (Rhÿs, *ib.* 69): but we shall find the explanation later on.

(b) **Rivers.**—(1) Masc. *a*- stems, as shown by Ptolemy's *Δηούα(ς)*,
genitives in *-α¹*, *Δηοῖα* (gen.), the Dee, 'bright', 'sparkling'—
the Dee.
see Holder under *Deva*. *Λόξα* (gen.), the Lossie², 'crooked', *Λόξα(ς)*,
the Lossie.
from '*lek ... biegen' (Stokes, 244) whence Gr. *λόξος*, 'Gaulish'
Lexovio-, Irish *losc*: it flows first North, then East, then
North. (2) Masc. *o*- stems. *Λόγγον* (gen.), from 'longo-s *Δόγγος*.
lang' (Stokes, 245). *Ναβάρων* (gen.), the Naver, 'divided', *Νάβαρος*,
the Naver.
from 'nebho- sich spalten' (Fick, I. 502) whence 'an. nafarr
Bohrer ... an. nef n. Nase („gebohrt“?)'—this river being
divided at its mouth by a high bank, nearly half a mile
long and broad (containing abundant Pictish ruins), on both
sides of which it still runs when in flood. (3) Stems in *i*-.
Τούεσις, admittedly the Spey, 'swelling', from 'tevo-: tu *Τοβέσις*,
schwellen' (Fick, I. 445), whence Pictavian *Teu!* and Sor-
the Spey.
donic (?) *Tiu!* 'swell!' in invocations to fountain-goddesses
(see pp. 133, 141, 156, 160), and perhaps Ir. *tuile*, 'flood': this
river is notorious for the rapidity of its rises and destructive-
ness of its floods. Its later name *Spe*, *Spey*, seems an
example of that persistence of initial *sp-* for *sph-* pointed out
by Stokes (302) in Irish (*coin-speech*, 'hornet') and Highland
Gaelic (*speech*, 'wasp': cf. Gr. *σφήξ*): it appears to come
from 'sphê ... gedeihen' (Fick, I. 573) which gives Lat.
spatium, Eng. *speed*—and, I suspect, Scottish *spate*, a river-
flood, and Ir. *speid* with the same meaning.

(c) **Isles.**—*Σκήτις*, Adamnan's Scia, Tigernach's Scith, 'the *Σκήτις*,
wing-shaped Isle of Skye ... means 'wing,' Ir. *sciath* 'Skye.'
(Stokes, B.B.): the root is *skeito-* (Stokes, 309). *Δοῦμνα* is *Δοῦμνα*,
placed between Skye and the Orkneys; 'It may be the Long *Δοῦμνα*,
Island', i. e. the chain of the Outer Hebrides, says Mr. Macbain
'the Long
Isle' ?
—and indeed there is no other³ which it can be, unless Ptolemy
has blundered. The name appears to be the fem. of 'dubno-s

¹ Cf. his *τοῦ Σηκοῖα* and *τὸν Σηκοῖαν*. That the nom. was *-as* is probable from his *Οὐόλας κόλπος*, some loch on the W. or N. of Scotland.

² The *-ie* may be the phonetic representation of an adjectival suffix *-idh*.

³ Of course it might be not the entire chain called the Long Island, but the single I. of Lewis, which is 45 miles long. It is, however, quite certain that at no very distant geological period the entire chain formed a single isle: apparently a rise of about 5 fathoms in the sea-bed would reunite it, and it seems quite possible that the name *Δοῦμνα* may antedate the disruption—see note on next page.

tief. gall. dubno-s, dumnos' (Stokes, 153), but with the meaning 'long': depth, height, length are easily convertible ideas, and we have Dumno-talus, 'Deep-browed', Doman-gart, 'Deep-headed'.

Bavvaria. (d) **Towns**.—*Bavvaria* i.e. the town of the Bann-ates, possibly a by-form of Benn-ates, as by the side of Ir. *benn*, Highland *beinn* F., we have Welsh *bann* M. (Stokes, 168), and I suspect Bann-aventa to mean Spring Hill (i.e. Borough Hill near Daventry). *Δηυνάνα* may well mean the town on the river *Δηνοα*(s); but Macbain connects it with the Dian or Deon (now the Don), being equivalent to Divona and the name of Cahors in Gaul, which is called *Δουηόνα* in Ptolemy (II. 7 § 9) by mistake for *Δηυνόνα*. In any case the stem *deiv-* is beyond doubt.

Ἐπίδιον ἄκρον, *Ἐπίδιοι*, Cautyre. **Names presenting phonetic difficulties**.—Cautyre, or the end of it, is called *Ἐπίδιον ἄκρον*, and the people *Ἐπίδιοι*. In the description of Ireland *Ἐπίδιον* is the name given to one of the opposite isles, the *Ἕβουδαί*¹ or *Ἀιβουδαί* (Pliny, IV. 104, *H(a)ebudes*; Solinus, *Ebudes*), and the π might conceivably be a degraded β, as in *carpentum* and *Atepodua* (see Holder, II. 900). Otherwise Epidio- may be a compound of the preposition *epi* (see Stokes, 24), e.g. of *epi* and ' *id brennen' (Stokes, 45): there may have been a beacon at the end of the promontory, or the population may have been wreckers who lured ships by lights (a practice traditionally as old as the Trojan war).

Three Latinized names of capes. Three non-Pictish *forms* we certainly have in the names of three other capes, *Ταρουεδουμ*, *Οὐρουεδρουμ*, and *Οὐρουβιουμ*, all of which, as Stokes has remarked long ago, are Latinized. Still, the passage of Pictish vessels to and from the Orkneys makes it virtually certain that these particular capes must have had *some* Pictish names. And, so far as the name of a cape is descriptive of shape and other physical characteristics, obviously it is the sailor who is best qualified to give that name.

¹ I cannot offer any derivation of this name with confidence. But I think it may come from Fick's 'ebho: êbho etwa: niederstrecken, intrs. niedersinken' (I. 362), with which he connects 'nhd. Abend, nhd. Ebbe', and that it may indicate a partial submergence: see note ³ on the last page. In Pliny's time a Keltic *H-* would only represent *P-*, which gives no derivation. His form may be due to ΑΙΒΟΥΔΑΙΝΗΚΟΙ in some Greek MS. having been erroneously aspirated as if = αἰ Βούδαι νῆσοι.

Ταρουεδουμ—also called ἡ Ὀρκὰς ἄκρα, ‘the Orcadian cape’—^{Ταρ- ουεδουμ, Dunnet Head?} is, by almost universal consent, Dunnet Head. The name is compounded of Ir. *tar* ‘across’, and the stem of ‘vedô ich bringe, führe . . . ir. fedim ich führe, bringe’ (Stokes, 269), and means ‘Passage’—Dunnet Bay doubtless being the favourite point of departure for, and arrival from, the Orkneys. The obsolete Welsh ‘*tarwedd*, pervasio’ (Zeuss-Ebel, 789) is apparently the very word.

The name of cape Οὐι(ε)ρουεδρουμ.¹ is almost certainly, and that of cape Οὐερουβιουμ.² or Βερουβιουμ very probably, a compound of *u(p)er-*, ‘exceedingly’, ‘Gaulish’ *ver-*; and in that case the dropped *p* at first suggests them to be non-Pictish. Pictish, however, may have dropped *p* between vowels before dropping it initially; and, although at a much later date *p* between the vowels *a* and *e* is preserved in Pictavian (see p. 134), and apparently (as we shall find by and by) in Irish ogam-inscriptions, yet as a labial consonant it may have been dropped after the labial *u*³ earlier than after *a, e, i, o*.

A few names of the later Roman period remain. Dion Cassius, writing in the early 3rd cent. of the events of 208 (76 § 12), says that the two largest tribes of the Βρεττανόι are the Καληδόνιοι and the Μαίαται, the latter of whom lived next ^{Καληδόνιοι. Μαίαται, Μιάτι.} the wall, and the former beyond them. And Adamnan in his life of Columba mentions them once as the Miatl and twice as the Miathi. Their name (see Rhys, *Welsh people*, 98) is

¹ Vervedrum is by almost universal consent Duncansby Head. It is eaten into by deep narrow ravines, and isolated ‘stacks’ of rock standing out in the bay to the S. show what havoc the waves have wrought on the original coast: the *-vedrum* might be from ‘vedh-stossen, schlagen’ (Fick, I. 129), or the stem may be the same as that of Germanic ‘vedra n. Wetter’ (Fick, III. 307), and the name may mean ‘very stormy’.

² Stokes (B. B.) suggests a connexion with Ir. *ubh* ‘sword-point’, and ‘very pointed’ would well suit the shape of Tarbert Ness, if we could suppose that, and not the Noss, to be the cape meant.

³ The prepositions *vo* (later *fo*) and *ver* (later *for*) almost certainly = *u(p)o* and *u(p)er*. Yet the instances kindly sent me in advance by Dr. A. Holder contain no certain evidence of the preservation of *p* in either word, and I cannot help suspecting that the immediate precedence of a labial vowel caused its early loss. See further pp. 111, 115. Ptolemy calls the Beaulieu estuary Οὐαπαρ εἰσχωσις, a name preserved in that of the Farar, one of the streams forming the Beaulieu river. I cannot seriously doubt that this is the Gaulish river-name Arar with prefix *v*, *f*’ = *vo, fo*, and that it means ‘somewhat sluggish’ (see Holder s. v. Arar).

32 *The Picti. The Dicalydones. The Verturiones*

preserved in Dun-Myat and perhaps in May, an isle off Fife. Its termination -ται we have already met in other tribal names.

Picti,

About 296 we have the Picti mentioned in the Panegyric to Constantius Caesar (11), and apparently even earlier in the Laterculus Veronensis (of which Holder gives no date). And the Panegyric to Constantine of 310 speaks of 'Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum' according to the more rhetorically probable reading—according to the other¹, 'Caledonum Pictorum aliorumque'. I have fully shown in Appendix III (see pp. 147-50) that this name is Pīcti or Pēcti, from the root *peik-* 'tattoo', with Ind.-Eur. *p* preserved: to the evidence there given that the Picts did tattoo, I need only add a passage in Holder which I then overlooked. Claudian, *De cons. Stil.* II. 247-9, thus personifies Britain:—

i. e.
'Tattooed',
from Ind.-
Eur. *peik-*
stem.

Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro
ferro picta genas; cuius vestigia verrit
caerulus Oceanique aestum mentitur amictus.

Her head is covered with the skin of a Caledonian monster (boar or bear²?), her cheeks are tattooed, and she wears a wrap³ sweeping her footprints. That the Pictavians, Sequanians, and others tattooed their *cheeks*, will be seen on pp. 150-1.

Dicalydones.

Ammianus Marcellinus, late in the 4th cent., writes 'Eo tempore' (in 368) 'Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones' (XXVII. 8 § 5). With the former name cf. Ptolemy's ὠκεανὸς καλούμενος Δουηκαληδόνιος (II. 3 § 1) and his misspelling of Δουηόνα for Δουονόνα: further on, we shall meet, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, 4 Pictish kings whose names are compounded with Deo- (see pp. 54-7). I have consequently very little doubt that the Caledonians affixed to their name the honorific adjective *deivo-* and that its full form was Δηνοκαλήδονες or Dīuocalidones. As regards the Verturiones, Prof. Rhys has long since equated them with the 'men of Fortrenn' of later history (*Celtic Britain*, 158, 308) and has connected their name with the root of

Verturiones.

¹ Holder adopts each in turn, but without indicating the existence of the other: see I. 691, II. 994. Calidonum is a better reading than Caledonum.

² Martial, *Spect.* 7. 3, 'Nuda Caledonio sic viscera praebuilt urso'.

³ Sea-blue? blue and sea-green? blue with white wavy lines?

Verterae, Stokes's '*verə umschliessen . . . vertrā Schutzwehr. cymr. gwerthyr F. Festung' (271)—so that their name would mean 'Enclosure-builders', 'Fort-builders'.

Adamnan's Life of Columba.—We come next to the Pictish names¹ in Adamnan's Life of Columba. Columba died in 597, Adamnan in 704, and MS. A was written in 713. Consequently the evidence of the form of these names is extraordinarily good. It is almost decisive as to Pictish having been Goidelic, but suggests that Ind.-Eur. *p* was normally dropped.

In I. 12 we have Columba 'per asperam et saxosam *Artda-muirchol*, regionem iter faciens, quæ dicitur Artdamuirchol', since corrupted into Ardnamurchan². It is opposite the isle of Coll, the sea between them being called the Passage of Coll. The name is *Artda-muir-Chol*, 'Col-sea-heights'. *Artda* (MS. B *arda*)³ is pl. of *ardd* (*ard*) 'n. a height' (K. Meyer), the neuter of *árd*, 'high': cf. '*ardda* (gl. sublimia) Cr. 18^b' (Zeuss-Ebel, 60 b). *Muir* and *Chol* are either used adjectively in composition or are uninflected genitives, of *muir* 'sea' and *Col* respectively: of such genitives both in Pictish and Irish we shall have certain examples further on.

In II. 10 we are told of a child who was baptized by *Ligu* Columba and lived to old age. 'Hic erat Ligu Cencalad, cuius parentes fuerant in Artdaib Muirchol'. Here *Ligu* Cen(n)calad, 'Hard-head⁴ *minor*', is about as Irish as anything can be, and the *ligu* (MS. B *lugu*) suggests that his father or grandfather bore the same name. *Artdaib* (MS. B *ardaib*) is of course the loc.-dat. pl. governed by *in*.

In II. 22 an incident is related which happened 'in loco qui Scotice vocitatur Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol'. So Reeves, professedly following A; but hyphens were unknown in the West for some centuries later. *Ait-Chambas* is 'Pleasant bay': there are many *Camas*'s on the Ardnamurchan coast. And Art is a correct gen. plural. The name means 'Pleasant bay of Coll-sea height', but is avowedly not Pictish.

¹ As some of Adamnan's person-names are mixed up with his place-names, I have thought it convenient to treat them both together.

² It is right to add that I cannot *prove* it to have been outside the territory of the Dalriad Scots, though Skene so places it.

³ See M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in the *Rev. Celt.* xvii. 292, correcting a partial blunder of mine in 1896.

⁴ Or 'Hardskin', from 'kenni- Haut, Fell' (Stokes, 78).

Airchart-
dan,
(Glen)
Urquhart.

In III. 14, however, we are told that Columba was travelling on the other side of the Britanniae Dorsum, near Loch Ness ('secus Nisæ fluminis lacum') and 'in illum devenit agrum qui Airchart-dan nuncupatur'. Here the text of A is not quoted, and the hyphen is impossible; the text of B is quoted as *aircardan*. The name is *Airc(h)-artdan*, 'Hill-grazing'. *Airch'* is Ir. *airge*, 'a place for milking cows' (K. Meyer), modern Irish *airghe* 'a place for summer grazing in the mountains' (O'Reilly): for 'CH = G infecta' see Zeuss-Ebel, 63. And *artdan* is the diminutive of *artd*, 'height'. The place meant is Glen Urquhart, locally called (Reeves) Arochdan (i.e. Aroch(art)dan), *àroch* being 'a summer grazing' (Highland Society's Dictionary), obviously kindred to *airghe*¹.

Emchatus.

At this place an old man Emchatus was baptized by Columba 'Emchat(us) . . . = Ir. Imm-chath' (Stokes, B. B.): the stems are *embi* 'ganz' (Stokes, 34) and 'kato-s wise' (id. 67), and the meaning 'Very shrewd'. 'Kato-s' seems not to be found in Kymric, but if it were it would normally make in composition not Emchat but Emgat.

Virolecus.

For the name of his son Virolecus (MS. B *virolicus*) we must examine all Adamnan's names beginning with U-r and F-r. We find Feradachus in I. 12, 29, II. 23, without variant; but Stokes takes this to = Ve-redacos and Macbain takes it to = Ver- i.e. 'man' + -adach². We find Ferguso (gen.) in the second Preface, and Forcus in I. 7; and here Fer-, For-, certainly = *u(p)er*, Ir. *for*, Pictish *uur*. Lastly, we have Fergnoi (gen.) in I. 26; but Fergna Brit(t), abbat of Hi in 605-23, is called Virgnous (in various cases) 7 times in III. 19; and in III. 26 another person is called once Fergnouo (dat.) and thrice Virgnous. It is clear that at Hy the form with Vir- lasted till 623 at least before becoming Fer-, and the name seems to be a compound of *u(p)ir-* found in *U(p)irvedrum* and *gnoe* 'beautiful' (Cormac, and see Windisch). The second element in Virolecus looks like Ir. *blach* 'drunken', Highland Gaelic *blach* 'hospitable', from a *potl-* stem (Stokes, 46; Macbain, 241-2): so that the name appears to mean 'Very hospitable' or 'Very tipsy'³, and in

¹ See my derivation of this last word on p. 94, note.

² See p. 58.

³ Cf. the Irish surname Mór-olach, 'greatly bibulous' (Stokes in *Irische Texte*, III. 289).

Glen Urquhart initial *p* seems to have been normally dropped in the latter half of the 6th cent., as well as medial *p* after *u*.

The passage relating to Dobur Artbranani 'in insula . . . *Dobur Art-branani*. Scia' has already been discussed; the names of Brudeus and Tarainus will be explained when we come to the Pictish kings (pp. 49, 54); those of Irish Picts on pp. 61 and 101; and the only other certainly Pictish names in Adamnan are those of the river Nesa or Nisa (Ness), the magician Broichanus, and the 'Geona cohorts'.

Stokes (B. B.) has derived Nesa and Nisa 'from *nes-tā, *Nesa, Nisa, *ned-ta*, cognate with *Nēda* and Skr. *nadī* 'river'. In that case it would be an Irish form, for Pictish preserved final -st¹ to the 9th cent. (e. g. *Uurgust*). But '*nad nass sein' (Stokes, 189) gives *am-nass* in Irish, not *am-nes* or *am-nis*. I suggest that Ness, Nes-a, Nis-a = *Nig-sa*, *Neg-sa*, from the stem of 'nigō ich wasche' (Stokes, 194), cf. *nikto-s*, 'clean', Ir. *necht*, and Pictish *Nechtán* (ib.).

Stokes (B. B.) has also suggested that Broichan(us) is *Broich-an(us)*. 'from *Vroichan = Ir. *Froechan*'. The name seems to be a derivative from the stem 'vroiko-s Heidekrant, Heide. ir. *froech*² . . . Gen. *froich*', whence late Lat. *brucus* (Stokes, 287). For *b* = initial *v* in Irish cf. *bran*, 'raven' (Zeuss-Ebel, 53 b), and *barn* 'yours' by the side of *farn* (ib. 54), perhaps also *bresn-* by the side of *fresn-* (ib. 55). Adamnan's Broichan, moreover, was a magician who opposed Columba at the Pictish court, and Tigernach and the Four Masters tell us under the year 555 of a battle in Ireland in which Fraechán son of Teniusán made a 'druid's fence' for the one side but the prayer of Columba brought victory to the other.

Artbranani, who was baptized in Skye, was 'Geonae cohortis *Geona cohorts*. primarius', colonel of the 'Geona' regiment. As Pausanias (VIII. 43, 4) speaks of the Brigantes as having begun to *ἐπεσβαλνεν* . . . *ἐς τὴν Γενοντίαν μοῖραν, ὑπηκόους* 'Ρωμαίων, and, as *μοῖρα* may = 'regiment', it has been suggested that we should read *Gēonae* = *Genonae*. But the words of Pausanias seem to me to suggest not a regiment but a territory, and

¹ Initial *str-* is preserved to this day in Sutherland in the word *strath* (not *srath*).

² Also *fræch*. A *Fraoch* king of Leinster was killed in 476, according to the Four Masters, who likewise give under A. M. 3790 the death of *Fraochan Fáidh*.

Prof. Rhys (*Rhind lectures*, 27) speaks of 'Fraech, a hero or divinity figuring in various Irish stories . . . Fraech was the son of Buan, Queen of the Fairies'.

the idea of a regiment which could be described as subjects of the Romans is very difficult of acceptance. It is equally difficult to imagine a regiment subject to the Romans in the 2nd century and still existing in the neighbourhood of Skye in the 5th. I can only timidly suggest that Geona represents an adjective related to Welsh 'geian *aestus, ardor, vehementia, impetus*' from a stem *geio-* found in Geius and Geidumni (see Holder under the latter word).

Place-names in the 'Pictish chronicle'.—Necton I became king of the Picts about 460. According to the 'Pictish chronicle' (Skene, 6), in his 3rd year Darlugdach abess of Kildare came as an exile from Ireland to Britain, and in his 5th year he offered in her presence 'Aburnethige' as a gift to God and St. Brigid. Necton, it is added, had been expelled by his brother Drust to Ireland, had besought Brigid's prayers, and had been told by her that he would reign in peace: hence his oblation of Abernethy. And the boundaries of the grant are stated.

Aburnethige,
Abernethy.

The Irish
myth of its
dedication.

Now the celebrated St. Brigid abess of Kildare was not born till about 450, and died about 523, while Darlugdach abess of Kildare succeeded Brigid as abess and died after a year. The story of the grant is an almost certain forgery of Irish monks settled in much later times at Abernethy: that Irish monks *were* settled is indicated by its being one of the only two places in Scotland with a 'round tower'. The other place is Brechin, and curiously enough the chronicle as printed by Skene ends with the statement that a king of Scots 'tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino'.

But, forgers though they might be, the chroniclers of this grant would be careful to give real Pictish names to the boundaries mentioned in it. These boundaries 'posite sunt a lapide', i.e. the boundary-stone, 'in apurfeirc usque ad lapidem', the boundary-stone, 'iuxta ceirfuill .i. lethfoss, et inde in altum usque ad athan'. Apurfeirc, misread by Skene as Apurfeirt, is the *apur* or inflow of the Ferg, or 'Farg water'; the stem is that of Stokes's 'vergâ Zorn' (273), which gives Ir. *ferc, ferg, fearg* (also Highland Gaelic) i.e. 'anger', and the place is 'Aberargie' = Aber(fh)argie (Johnston, *Place-names of Scotland*)—see further p. 173. Ceirfuill is 'Carpow', Lowland English for Carpoll = *castra paludis*,

Apurfeirc,
the Farg
inflow.

Ceirfuill,
Carpow.

there being remains of a Roman camp there. And Stokes (B. B.) has observed the name Kerpul in an Abernethy charter. *Poll* (pool, *palus*) has gen. *puill*, which in aspirating construction would be *phuill* = *fuill*: so here we have a second distinct Goidelic genitive, as in Feirc from Ferg. Cf. Aberfoyle and (Irish) Ballinfoyle, Ballinphuill, Ballinphull. Lethfoss—unknown to me—probably = *Lethf(h)oss*, 'Half-serf', *Lethfoss*, and signifies that the occupier held half of it under servitude to the monastery. Athan is probably the diminutive of High-land Gaelic *àth*, 'kiln', Irish *dùth*: cf. 'Limekilns' (Dunfermline). *Athan*.

The name Aburnethige, Abernethy, remains, and of itself ^{Aburnethige itself.} furnishes a presumption that Pictish was a Keltic language. It means the inflow of the Nethy. Stokes (B. B.) takes Nēdec to be the nom. represented by the gen. Nethige, apparently connecting it with Nēda and Skr. *nadī* 'river'.¹ Aber = Abber² = Ad-ber (Macbain, 2).

Now Abber or Aber is rare in Irish³—though found in Donegal and neighbouring counties (Joyce, *Irish names of places*, 2nd ser. 366). And can we account for it in Highland names, if they are not derived from Pictish, by supposing that it always indicates a former Kymric settlement? There is another Abernethy in N.E. Invernessshire, on another river Nethy; on the W. coast there is Aporcrosan (inflow of the Crosan burn, now Applecross) as far north as the county of Ross, opposite Skye; and on the N.E. coast there is Aberdour in the extreme north of Aberdeenshire. Does any one seriously contend that these three preserve the memory of Kymric settlements?

Place-names in the Legend of St. Andrew.—The version of this legend printed by Skene at pp. 183-93 of *Chronicles*

¹ The Invernessshire Nethy is also subject to violent spates, and, as Pictish *e* continually = modern *ai*, I suggest that the name is an adjective from the stem of '*naitheas*, harm, mischief' for which Macbain gives no derivation, but which may be from the same root as Lat. *neco*, *nocco*. Cf. *Nehhtonn* (p. 72) and Bede's *Naiton* (v. 21), both for *Necton*—also *-nouhten* and *Nachton* on p. 40. And see p. 174.

² Macbain quotes Abbor from the Book of Deer (12th cent.), and we have already had Aebber (= äbber) in Bede's Aebbercurnig (8th cent.). It is the fact of the *b* equaling *bb* which has saved it from becoming *bh* as in *in-bher*.

³ Is not *ad-bar*, *ad-bur*, 'material', the same word—i.e. what we *bring* to the making of a thing? The ordinary Irish word for 'inflow' is *inbher*, *Inver*.

Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, I. 221) has pointed out that as regards Scotland N. of the Forth 'In Argyllshire alone, which was occupied by the Dalriadic Scots, there are no Abers'.

of the Picts and Scots contains another record of grant, from Hungus king of the Picts to the church of St. Andrew, which is forged at least so far as this that the witnesses 'are taken almost without exception from the names of the early kings in the Pictish lists' (Skene, lviii). The entire legend is, nevertheless, of great value for the ancient place-names contained in it. Unfortunately the MS. in which it is found is only an 18th cent. copy of (17th cent.) extracts made from a *lost* register of St. Andrew's (which is not the one printed by the Bannatyne Club, but has been missing since 1660). It is in fact a *thirdhand* document. But in Sibbald's History of Fife (1710) and in Father Thomas Innes we have their readings of the *secondhand* extracts from which it was made.

Muckros.

1 (p. 185), 'in terra Pictorum, ad locum qui Muckros fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem Kylrimont dictus . . . Muckros vero nemus porcorum dicitur'. And of course Mucc-ross *does* mean 'swine-wood' in Old Irish: the Kymric form is Mochros (Stokes, 219). But, if Stokes's derivation (312) of *ross* is correct, there should have been an earlier Pictish Muccphrost.

'Mone-clatu',
Monikie.

2 (*ib.*). 'Inde perrexerunt Moneclatu, qui nunc dicitur Monichi'; but for Moneclatu Sibbald read Monechata (pp. 15, 67).

Skene (index) identifies Monichi with Monikie, which is pronounced Monécky (Johnston, i.e. Moníkí). Now in the Register of Arbroath (to which the church of Monikie belonged) the spelling Moniche is found in a document of 1461, but all earlier documents—and they are many—have not *ch* but *k*, and precede it not by single *i* but by *ie*. The earliest spellings are:—1178–98, Moniekyn (p. 124); 1200, Moniekyn (p. 155); in 1178–98, 1200, and 1214–18, Muniekkíñ; and Muniekkyy in 1189–99. The first part is the not uncommon Moni- = a peat-moss or bog (Highland Gaelic *mòine*, Ir. *moin*), for of this parish 'the northern district is chiefly swampy and moorish' and only 'partially reclaimed even now' (Groome's *Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland*). The second seems to be Ir. *écen*, *ecin*, Highland Gaelic *éiginn*, given as meaning violence, compulsion, necessity (see Windisch). And that again suggests that the *older* name given by Sibbald as Monechata was *Moni éhta* 'moor of slaughter' (*éhta* being gen. of Ir. *écht* 'Verbrechen, Mord'—Windisch). This seems to have become extinct in Highland Gaelic: hence the substitution of *ecin*.

3 (*ib.*). 'Inde transierunt montana, scilicet, Moneth, et ^{'Dol-}^{dencha',} venerunt ad lacum' [*read locum*] 'qui vocabatur Doldenchā, ^{'Dol-}^{dancha'.} nunc autem dictus Chondrochedalvan¹ . . . Rex vero locum illum, scilicet, Doldancha, dedit Deo'. Here Moneth = the Mounth, or so-called Eastern Grampians: it is the plural (= *monaith*) of *monath*, modern Highland Gaelic *monadh*², 'mountain', found in Rig-monath, the old name of St. Andrew's. Chondrochedalvan is Kindrochit, now Braemar (Skene, index): the special characteristic of its situation is that the Dee-side road E. to Aberdeen and W. up the valley is here met by the road S. from Blairgowrie, the junction being in the shape of a T. Hence I take it that the Pictish name was DOLÐANCÐĀ ^{Corrupted for Dol-}^{hanchā.} i. e. Dol-(s)hanchan, 'A going this way and that', from *dol*, Highland Gaelic for 'A going' (Ir. *dul*), and 'san-chan, *hin und her*' (Windisch). In composition the latter would become *shanchan*, and *sh* is pronounced simply as *h*: hence DOLÐANCÐĀ, which got miscopied into Doldancha³.

4 (p. 186). 'Postea Rex Hungus basilicæ Sancti Apostoli in parochiam dedit quicquid terræ est inter mare quod Ishundenema dicebatur, usque ad mare quod Sletheuma ^{'Ishun-}^{denema'.} vocabatur; et in adiacenti provincia per circuitum de Largaw, ^{'Sletheu-}^{ma'.} usque ad Sireis canum; et de Sireis usque ad Hyhatnouhten Machehirb, quæ tellus nunc dicitur Hadnachtē.' This is the grant for which sham Pictish witnesses are cited.

I have just pointed out the liability to confound Ð and D, and I have no moral doubt that Ishundenema represents an original *is* DUNEDENE *mā* i. e. *is Dunedene mara*, 'seas below ^{Corrupted for is}^{Dunedene} Dunedin'. *Is* is the Irish preposition *is*, 'below'; *mara* is the Irish nom. and acc. pl. of *muir*, 'sea'; *Dunedene*⁴ is Duneden, Edinburgh. In the same way I take Sletheuma to be corrupted from an original 's LETHCU *mā* i. e. 'seas below and 's Lithgow⁵. And I find from the Register of the priory of *Lethcu mā*.

¹ Sibbald reads Chondro-hedalion, p. 16, and Chondrohedalian, p. 68.

² Cf. the Kymric forms given by Stokes (210): the Highland Gaelic, to which he does not allude, indicates that we must refer them not to an *-ijo-* stem, but to a dental one, like Lat. *mont-*. His 'abrit. Monedo-rigi (Hübner 128)' is in my opinion Goidelic, and I read *Monedox* (= *Monedos*) *rigi*—see Appendix VI, p. 168.

³ Sibbald reads Doldancha on p. 16, and Doldanha on p. 68.

⁴ The derivation is still unsettled: if from the Northumbrian king Eadwine, as commonly believed, the final -e is right.

⁵ The earliest form given is (Lin)litcu: Lythgow and Lithcow are also found.

St. Andrew's (Bannatyne Club) that the priory possessed the church of Linlidchu in 1163 (p. 54) and land in Edenesburch in 1187 (p. 64). See further p. 174.

Largaw,
Largo.

Largaw is Largo in Fife: the earliest known form is Largauch=Highland Gaelic *Leargach*, 'steep, having many steepes or slopes' (Highland Soc. Dict.), the adj. of *learg*, Ir. *lerg*. For 'the coast . . . rises almost immediately, especially behind the village of Lower Largo, to a height of 100 feet, reaches 165 at Upper Largo village, and from that rises gradually . . . till, on the northern boundary of the parish, a height of over 600 feet is reached' (Groome's *Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland*).

Sireis,
Ceres.

Sireis is the 'ecclesia de syreis' in Fife mentioned in the Register of St. Andrew's (p. 384) under the year 1260, and also as Syrays (p. 34). It is the modern Ceres (Skene, index). The derivation *Sireis* appears to be a compound of Ir. *str*, 'long' (modern Highland Gaelic *sìor*), and *éis* which='footstep, trace' in Irish and 'delay, rest' in Highland Gaelic. It looks as if the same mistaken spirit of classical comparison which has now turned Sireis into Ceres had led some mediaeval scribe to compare it with Sirius or Canis 'the Dog'-star, and that some note of his eventually got into the text as 'canum'. But Sireis may perhaps have been distinguished for some hunting-episode, or have belonged to a Con family, and may have been known as 'Sireis nan con' 'Sireis of the dogs', 'Sireis canum'. Sibbald writes 'Canum'.

Hy-
hatnouhten
(Naugh-
ton) *Mac-*
hehirb.

The remaining place mentioned is now called Naughton. With this compare the family-name MacNaughton, found in 1467 as McNeachtain (Macbain, 368), and derived from the Pictish Nectan. In Sibbald's time the place was called Nachton (p. 16), and Hadnachten when the legend itself was written. But the name occurs many times in the Register of St. Andrew's, and always without the H-: in 1187 it is Adanachtin. Similar cases of false aspiration¹ abound in the Register, and the name is a compound from the same parti-

Prof. Rhys (*Rhind lectures*, p. 4) says 'Linlithgow . . . means the lake of *Liathchū*, or Grey Dog; the word appears to occur also with the correct Goidelic genitive as *Linliathchon*'. *Liath* (gen. *Leith*) has its diphthong from earlier *ei* or *ē* seen in the place-name Leto-cetum (Middle Welsh *Luitcoit*). See further p. 174.

¹ In this case it may represent the second *h* in Hyhatnouhten, the object of which may have been to prevent hiatus.

cial stem which furnishes Nectan (Stokes, 194). The spellings with Ada-, Ade-, Adhe-, Ady-, Ath-, Athe-, At-, Auth- given to this place in the Register indicate that the prefixed preposition Ad- is not *ad-adh* = Lat. *ad*, but is the 'ad- arising from *aith-* or *ath-*' (Macbain), originally a disyllable, for which see Holder under *ate*, and Zeuss-Ebel, 869. Its meaning is that of 'Lat. re-, iterum' and the stem of Ath(e)necht-an may consequently mean 'Repurified'. The person so named is surnamed Machehirb i. e. son of Hehirb or Ehirb, a name which is explained on p. 108.

The custom of calling places and districts from their present or former occupiers was so common among the Kelts of the British isles that it seems idle to quote instances. Of a name so given from an individual we have in Scotland the beautifully simple instance of Angus (= Forfarshire) which may have been called after the very king mentioned in the legend of St. Andrew. And all over Ireland districts were called after the *Hy* or *I* or *Ui*, that is the descendants, of some founder of a family: the instances in the Four Masters occupy 8 columns of the index. Now in the statement that this place Hadnachten was in Pictish times called *Hy* Hatnouhten Mac Hehirb we get direct evidence that Pictish localities were similarly named, and that *Hy* and *Mac* meant exactly the same in Pictish as in Irish. To me this is no news. Maqq, Maq, or *Mac* occurs in 1 out of every 4 Pictish inscriptions. And some form of the substantive of which *Hy* is plural occurs just as often in them, while in two at least of such cases it is governed by the preposition *in*, showing that it is used as the name not of persons but of the hereditary holding occupied by them. And, when I come to the Pictish inscriptions, I hope the reader will remember 'usque ad *Hy* Hatnouhten Mac Hehirb, *quæ tellus nunc dicitur Hadnachten*' as overwhelming proof that the simple and consistent explanation I shall give of those inscriptions is also true to history.

Kelts named places from persons and families.

Hy an Irish family-prefix.

Hy and *Mac* in Pictish = the same words in Irish.

5 (p. 188). 'Erat autem regia urbs Rymont, Regius Mons dicta, quem præfatus Rex Hungus . . . dedit.' The oldest form linguistically is Rigmonath, = Ir. *rí*, gen. *ríg*, and Pictish *monath* 'mountain' (= modern Highland Gaelic *monadh*), of which we have already had the plural 'montana, scilicet, Moneth'.

Rymont, *Rigmonath*, St. Andrew's.

42 *Place-names in the Legend of St. Andrew*

Two other place-names in the legend must be taken as certainly Pictish—namely Fortevieth and Migdele.

Fortevieth,
Forteviot.

The bearers of the relics of St. Andrew ‘ad Fortevieth perrexerunt, et illic tres filios Regis Hungi reperierunt’, who ‘dederunt decimam partem de urbe Fortevieth’ (p. 185), and afterwards ‘venit Rex . . . ad Fortevieth . . . et ibi basilicam ædificavit’. We have other evidence that Forteviot existed as a royal town within 16 years of the ‘Pictish’ period: for Kenneth mac Alpin died ‘in palacio Fothuir-tabaicht’ (Skene, 8). In the following reign it is called Fothiurthabaichth. We also have forms beginning with Fethir-, Fether-¹, Fer-, and have to compare such names as Fother, Dunfother, Fotherdun (Fordun), Fotherkern (Fettercairn): also Fothrif (W. Fife), which may = Fother- (Fh)if. O’Reilly gives *fothír* ‘a good country’, i.e. *fó-thír*, which may be only his own etymologizing: but Stokes (B. B.) quotes from O’Clery ‘*fuithir* .i. fearann’, = a district. Stokes also suggests that Fother ‘may be = *fothir*, the nom. sg. of Ir. *foithre* .i. coillte ‘woods’’. *Tabaicht* is the gen. of ‘*tàbhachd*, substantiality, effectiveness, Ir. *tàbachd*’ (Macbain)². The ‘Pictish chronicle’ states that in the reign of Kenneth mac Alpin’s successor ‘iura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goideli cum rege suo in Fothiurthabaichth’ (Skene, 8); and it may have been a place at which each new Pictish king and his people entered into a mutual compact.

Migdele,
Meigle.

The legend of the advent of St. Andrew’s relics is ended with the words ‘Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit Regi Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele’ (p. 188), after which the editor goes on ‘Hæc ut præfati sumus, sicut in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus’. The Pictish king mentioned is one closely preceding Kenneth mac Alpin. Migdele is Meigle in Perthshire, and in 1183 is found in the Register of St. Andrew’s as Miggil (p. 59). Groome’s *Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland* derives Meigle from ‘*maigh-dhail*, “field of the plain”’, and the entire parish ‘is almost a dead level’. The first part Mig really does seem

¹ There is a Fetherneen in the parish of Kilvarnet, Co. Sligo, Ireland.

² If it be objected that *tābh-* would not have given *tev-* so early as we find the vowel *e* in this name, let me instance Highland Gaelic *tàbhairn* = *tàberna*, tavern, as a case of original *tābh-* now represented by *tābh-*.

to = Maig, loc.-dat. of 'mag N. Ebene, das freie Feld', for we shall find that Pictish *i* often = *ai* (as in modern Highland *mic* for *maic*), and the *g* has been kept from passing into *gh* by the following *d* or *dh*. So Migmarř (now Midmar) = Meadow of Marr, found in the same Register: it was one of the three divisions of Marr, the other two being Brae-Mar and Cro-Mar. And the second part of the name Mig-dele may = modern *daile*, gen. of *dail* 'plain': for *ai* constantly appears as *e* in Pictish, and *d* would be aspirated and lost.

Here I end my examination of Pictish geographical names. A number of others have been given by Stokes (B.B.): but most of them are open to the criticism that they are not absolutely proved to be Pictish. I have no more doubt than Stokes that, when Tigernach speaks of 'rex Athfotla', = king of Athol, under the year 739, he is giving the Pictish name of that Pictish territory; and, if so, the mere form of the name and its representation by modern Athol are evidence that Pictish was Goidelic. But, if any one asks 'How can you prove that the name under which Tigernach mentions this district was not merely its post-Pictish name?', I cannot prove it. The geographical names which I *have* proved to be Pictish are, however, quite enough to show that the language was not only Aryan and Keltic but Goidelic.

The geographical names prove Pictish Goidelic.

The question *when* the Picts dropped Ind.-Eur. *p* has not been settled by our names. The forms Muckros (for Muccphrost?) and Hy (for Py) in the Legend of St. Andrew are untrustworthy, since the form Hungus¹ (for Ungust) proves that the author or scribe adapted his Pictish names to the forms of his own time.

They do not tell us when *p* was dropped.

Pictish historical names.—From the geographical names I pass to an outline of the results of an investigation of Pictish history.

Pictish historical names.

The principal materials have been collected by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts, chronicles of the Scots, and other early memorials of Scottish history*. The chief of all is the

Principal materials.

¹ The 'Hungus' to whom the Legend of St. Andrew relates was the Ungust who reigned from about 731 to 761 (see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 1. 298).

The
'Pictish
chronicle'.

'Pictish chronicle', which was apparently compiled at the end of the 10th cent., but of which the oldest copy (Bibliothèque nationale, MS. Lat. 4126) is only of the 14th¹. The result of the MSS. being so late is that a chaos of misreadings has arisen, due mainly to the unfamiliarity of the names, the resemblances of certain Roman letters to each other, and the resemblances of certain *Irish* letters to each other. A critical restoration of the originals of *all* these misreadings would take more time and research than I shall ever be able to spare; but a further very considerable success in emending will doubtless attend any effort accompanied by adequate palaeographical and linguistic knowledge.

The
legendary
origins.

The legendary origins.—Much earlier, however, than any of the authorities collected by Skene are the chroniclers Filius Urbagen² (7th cent.?—see my paper in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, III. 104) and Nennius (c. 796).

Filius Urbagen says that Britain was named from a certain Roman consul Brutus, son of Rea and brother of Romulus and Remus: from him the Britones are descended, and from his son Siluius Posthumus the British kings were called Siluei. Later, he makes Brutus or Brit(t)o only the great-grandson of Rea, calls his father His(s)cion, Hission, Hessitio, or Hisitio, and his grandfather Al(b)anus, and says he reigned when Heli was judge in Israel (= the 12th cent. B. C.).

Nennius, besides incorporating most of what Filius Urbagen says, gives other accounts. Britain (§ 10) derives its name from its colonist Bruto, son of Siluius, son of Aeneas. Not less than 800 years after the priesthood of Heli (i.e. not *before* the 4th cent. B. C.) the Picts colonized the Orcades (§ 12) and afterwards wasted and occupied part of the mainland. 'Novissime' came the Scots from Spain to Ireland (§ 13). Their first colonist was Partholomus³ or Bartholomeus, with 1000

Picts
colonize
Orkneys.
Scots
colonize
Ireland.

¹ Skene (xix) says that it 'has evidently been transcribed at York, by Robert de Popilton, as there appears in folio 211 'Ora pro Popilton qui me compilavit Eboraci', and again at folios 213 and 262 'Ora pro fratre Roberto de Popilton''. Now the Popilton part of the MS. does not begin till f. 33, after the Pictish part has been finished, and is in a quite different hand. The alleged entry on f. 262 I failed to find.

² He is reproduced by the (imperfect) Chartres MS. 98, printed in the *Revue Celtique*, xv. 175, and collated as a MS. of Nennius in Mommsen's ed. of the latter.

³ I cannot admit that this has any connexion with the *extremely* rare apostolic

souls, whose colony (when risen to 4000) was completely destroyed by plague. Then followed (after a voyage of 1½ years) Nimeth son of Agnomen or Agnon or Agenor¹, who eventually returned with his colony to Spain². Last came 'tres filii Militis Hispaniae' (the Milesians) with 30 keels and 30 women in each. After a year's stay they saw a tower in the sea, the occupants of which refused to speak to them: they besieged the tower and on landing in front of it were swallowed by the sea, all except 30 men and 30 women, whose keel had previously been wrecked, and from whom the Irish of Nennius's time were descended. Except for the story of the tower, this version of the colonization might be sober history: and it is quite clear that the entire series of events is considered by Nennius as taking place even after the Picts occupied the Orkneys. The scriptural and classical school of Irish mythologists had, however, already arisen: for he goes on to tell what 'peritissimi Scottorum' had told him. At the Exodus, a noble Scythian in Egypt was expelled because he would not pursue the Israelites: his family and descendants came to Spain, and eventually to Ireland, which they reached 1002 years after the Exodus, and which was previously uninhabited. The arrival of the Scots in Dalriata (in Ulster?) was placed by these same 'peritissimi' in the consulship of the first Brutus—whence I infer that *really* the Scots of Irish Dalriata were Lusitanians or Gallaecians (Asturians?—see below), fleeing in or soon after B. C. 138 from the consul and proconsul D. Iunius Brutus.

Scots
colonize
(Irish?)
Dalriata.

Going back to Nennius's own account, we find (§ 14) that 'novissime', i. e. after the Pictish immigration, Damhoctor or Deamoctor came, and that his family inhabited Britain to Nennius's own time: his name clearly = (approximately) Demetos³, and he represents the Demetae of S. Wales. (H)istoret the son of (H)istorinus occupied Dalrieta with his people.

'Damh-
octor'
eponym
of the
Demeti.

name Bartholomaeus. Is it from an O. Keltic analogue of the Greek παράτολμος, 'over-venturesome'?

¹ The sons of Agenor, father of Europa, were sent out to find their sister, 'and all settled in foreign countries' (Smith, *Dict. of classical biography and mythology*).

² Cf. the Gallaecian Nemet-ates, -ani, or -avi (Ptol. II. 6. 40).

³ Irish, Welsh, and Saxon *s* and *r* are very easy to confuse; so are *e* and *c*; while *æ* was constantly written for *e*. A few lines lower down *Demetorum* is written *Dimetorum* in 3 MSS.

'Buile'
represents
Belgians.

Builc (i. e. the Bulgae or Fir Bolg, as we shall see by and by) occupied Eubonia (Man). And the sons of Liethan settled in the country of the Demeti¹ and elsewhere (Gower and Kidwely) till expelled from all Britannic regions by Cuneda and his sons.

Cruithne.

I now pass on to Skene's collection, though I do not attempt to deal with every variant legend to be found in it. The Pictish kings are traced back to *Cruithne*. Now Cruithne is the Irish name for Pict, meaning (see Appendix III, pp. 148-9) one who had his body decorated with *cruth's* or figures; and this reference to a king Cruithne suggests that the name was not merely Irish but Pictish, and (since it comes from a *q*-stem) that Pictish was Goidelic. Cruithne again (*Qrtanos*?) is the son of *Cing* (Cinges?), and *cing* is Irish for 'warrior': the gen. *cinged* (see Holder) points to earlier *cinges*, gen. *cingētōs*, and the stem is very common in Old Keltic².

His father
Cing.

Cing in turn is the son of *Luctai* or *Loichat*, whose name may=Lucoteios, a derivative of *lucot*- 'mouse' apparently found in the Pictavian place-name *Locoteiac*- (see pp. 145, 174). And Luctai is the son of *Partholan*, obviously

His
ancestors,
Luctai,

Partholan,
and others.

Nennius's Partholomus. According to one pedigree, Partholon was son of (Nennius's) Agnon(n), who was 5th from Noah. According to another, built upon Vergil's 'pictique Agathyrsi' and 'pictosque Gelonos', he was son of Histoirrech (gen.) or 'Histoirrech mac Histoirim mic Agom mic Agathirsi', while the race are also called children of Geleon son of Ercal—in accordance with the Greek tradition (Herodotus, IV. 10) that Heracles had three sons, Agathursos, Gelōnos, and Skuthēs. Agom is doubtless Nennius's Agnon(n) once more, and in 'Histoirrech' and 'Histoirrech mac Histoirim'

¹ Some MSS. insert 'ubi civitas est quae vocatur Mineu'. The 'filii Liethan' are the Hui Liathain, a Munster clan, of the E. of Co. Cork.

² Other forms of the legend bring the Cruithni from Erin under the leadership of Cat(h)luan, who is son of Cing or of Ca(i)tmind (Caitming) or of Gub, and who is father of Catmolodar (Cathanolodar, Catinolodhor) and Cathmachan (Catinolachan, Catanolachan), or is succeeded by Gud.

Gud or Gub is apparently corrupted from a name we shall presently come to among the earliest Pictish kings, namely 'Guidid' = Guidal (i.e. Goidel). Catmind = 'Noble in battle' (see Windisch under 'minn'), or (Stokes, B. B.) 'Diadem of battle', or is gen. of Catmend (see Windisch under 'menn') 'Bright in battle'. Catluan = 'Light of battle'. Catmolodar and Cathmachan show the same stem *cat*, 'battle'. The former apparently contains also that of *molad*, 'praise', and the latter that of 'magô ich fördere, mehrer . . . ir. do-for-magar „augetur“; tór-mach Vermehrung' (Stokes, 197).

we see again Nennius's (H)istoret(h) the son of (H)istorinus. These two names are obviously corrupted from Asturic- and Asturin-, and indicate a colony of Asturians fleeing before D. Iunius Brutus, the conqueror of Gallaecia, soon after B. C. 138, or before Augustus, about B. C. 25. Their capital was Asturica (Astorga).

The Pictish kingdom.—Let us now trace Pictish history forward from Cruithne. But, first, when did the Pictish kingdom begin? In Skene's collection many different periods are given for its duration, dating backward from 844-850. These are 1061 years (p. 148¹), 1070 (pp. 135, 298), 1187 (p. 203²), 1224 $\frac{3}{4}$ (pp. 330³, 334), 1239 $\frac{1}{2}$ (p. 287), 1360 (pp. 135, 298). The difference between the first two of these is only that of final I and X, and we shall see that the perplexed chronology of the early kings allows us to consider them approximately correct, and to date the commencement of the Pictish kingdom in B. C. 226-211. No time, indeed, was more likely for an immigration of continental Kelts: for in 236-219 Carthage had conquered Spain up to the Ebro, and in 222 Rome annexed Cisalpine Gaul.

The Pictish kingdom. Date of its commencement.

Probable influx of Picts from Continent, c. 220 B. C.

Cruithne himself is almost certainly an eponymous myth⁴. And the same must be said of his sons⁵, Cirec or Circan, Fidac, Fortriu, Foltlach, Catt, Ce, and Fib, who divided the land, and after each of whom his own kingdom was named. *Cirec* (gen. *Ciricc* and *Cirig*) means 'Crested', i. e. with the hair dressed like a cock's comb: cf. Highland Gaelic *cìreach* 'crested', from the stem of *cìr*, *cìor* 'a comb'. Stokes derives the corresponding Ir. *clr* from an earlier *Kénsrâ* (78), which suggests *Kensric*- as the stem of *Cirec* and its diminutive *Circan* (gen. *Circin*). The name *Mag Cirgin* is given in the Irish Nennius to a district of Scotland, but that it can possibly have become *Moerne* (as commonly alleged) by about 1200,

Cruithne doubtless a mere eponym. His sons also. *Cirec*.

¹ The Scots having reigned 260 $\frac{1}{2}$ years before them.

² The Scots having reigned before them from 443 B. C. .

³ The Scots having reigned 249 $\frac{1}{2}$ years before them.

⁴ If, as we know, the Picts tattooed themselves with *cruth's* in the early 3rd cent. A. D., it is practically certain that they did so in the early 3rd cent. B. C., and in that case the name Cruithne would be too wanting in distinctiveness to be a likely name for an individual.

⁵ The original chronicle, or one of the originals, clearly used some such form as 'Years of Foltlach xxx', for we repeatedly get the names in the genitive case, e.g. *Circinn*, *Fidaich*, *Fortrenn*, *Cait*: in all such cases I shall restore the nominative.

- and so be the modern Mearns, I refuse to believe. With
- Fidac. *Fidac* (Veidācos?) cf. Echu . . . mac Fedaich, an Irish king of the 3rd cent. B.C. mentioned by Tigernach (*Rev. Celt.* XVI. 395), and 'Fidach's daughter', wife of an Irish king of the 4th cent. A.D. (id., *Rev. Celt.* XVII. 32): it is probably an adjective from the stem 'veido-s wild' (Stokes, 265) which gives
- Fortriu. Ir. *fiad*, 'wild animals'. *Fortriu* (gen. Fortrenn) is also found in Ireland in the mention of 'Fergus Foga mac Fraechair Fortriuin', 'the last prince of Ulaid in Emain Macha' (id., *Rev. Celt.* XVII. 29-30), in the 3rd cent. A.D.. Fortriu = Verturion-, the stem-name of the Verturiones, which I have already dealt with. The name of the next son is given as
- Foltlach. Fotla, Fodla, Foltlaid, Floclaid, Foltlaig, and has been connected with Fotla a name of Ireland (said to be derived from a mythical queen), and with Ath-fhothla (now Athol): but Foltlaig gives an easy derivation ¹ from *fol* 'hair' + the suffix *-lach* (whence gen. *-laig*, *-lig*) i.e. Hairy, or Longhaired
- Catt. (Valtolangos ²? or Valtoslougos?). As for *Catt* (Cattos?), not only is Cat found as the name of the N. E. of Scotland (Sutherland and Caithness, O. N. Kata-nes), but Stokes quotes 'i Cataib, Féi.', and at the present day the Gaelic name of Sutherland is Catu^v: these forms, which are loc-dat. plural of *cat* = Lat. *felis*, show that the inhabitants were called 'the Cats' (see further p. 174), and they may have tattooed themselves with figures of the fierce wild cat, which is still the badge of Clan Sutherland, or, as it is called in Gaelic, 'Clan Cattach'. The equation of *Ce* (Ceios?) with the place-name
- Ce. Keith, -keith, I cannot believe in: cf. Adamnan's Stagnum Cei = Lough Key in Ireland. In the 12th cent. we have the
- Fib. earl of Fife termed 'comes de Fíb ³' (Stokes), suggesting original *veib-*, *vīb-*, and we have in Latin *vībix*, 'a weal', *vibia*, 'crosspiece', *Uibia gens*, and *vibones*, the flower of a medicinal herb called Britannica (Pliny, XXV. 3, 6 § 21). But two lists (Skene, 4, 396) give not Fib but Fibaid and Fidbaid, and in Ir. *fidbad* or *fidbaid* = 'a wood' (original Viduvidâ?—see Stokes, 279, 264). It is said that the brothers divided the land, that the territory of each bears his name, and that they

¹ Or ? Fochlach from Ir. Fochla 'North', for the Orkneys and Shetland.

² See Stokes, 263, 321; Macbain, xl; Zeuss-Ebel, 855-6.

³ Fife arises from Fíbh, as Duff from Dub, Dubh: assimilation may be a factor.

were succeeded by *Oenbecan*, the son or grandson¹ of Cat the 'Oenbecan first sole king'²; and Oen means 'one', 'single', 'alone'. ^{(Becan?) first sole king.} Becan may stand for Beccan and = 'bekkano-s, klein' (Stokes, 166), or be an adj. from the stem of 'gall. Becco (gl. gallinacei rostrum) . . . woher vermuthlich franz. bec, eng. beak' (ib.)—cf. Cam(e)ron, 'hooked-nose'. He was followed by 'Guidid gaeth Breatnach' i.e. Guidid 'the wise Briton', but in early Irish writing both *al* and *id* might be written *id*, so that the name is almost certainly Guidal and = 'goidelos . . . ir. góidel', Welsh *gwyddel*, our Goidel. He, again, was followed by 'Gest gurchich', with gloss *geis* and variants 'Gest gurid' and 'Geascuirti'. ^{'Gest', 'the fierce'.} Gest is glossed as if³ from '*ged: god bitten', whence Ir. *geis* and *geas*, 'taboo': see Stokes, 110, Windisch, *Wörterb.* under 'gessim', and Macbain under 'geas'. The second part of his name should probably be *gurtach* (gen. *-aich, -ech, -ich*), 'fierce', 'angry': in MSS. of the later middle ages *c* and *t* are continually written in the same way and confused, and *t* is supported here by the variant *Geascuirti*.

Then follows a series of 15 or 16 rulers who bore the title of Brude and ruled for 150 years. This title is found also as the proper name of several Pictish kings down to about the middle of the 9th cent., and shows what their constitutional position was. It = Mrude, from Stokes's '*mrû sagen. ir. frith-bruth „negatio“ (Grundform mrûtu-), fris-brudi „negat“ (von *mrûtið sage)', and the Brude was doubtless the 'Speaker' who addressed the parliament of chiefs and declared its decisions: for the ending *-de* see Zeuss-Ebel, 792. Calgacus, who was himself a Brude, 'inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur' (Tacitus, *Agricola* § 29).

The original Pictish list ran thus—

ur Gest, brude Pant : 'beyond Gest, brude Pant':
ur Pant, brude Leo : 'beyond Pant, brude Leo':

Original list.

¹ For, in the text quoted on p. 324 of Skene, 'Aenbecan v. Cait xxx' should obviously be read 'Aenbecan u Cait xxx', 'Aenbecan, grandson of Cat, 30'.

² In the 'Pictish chronicle' he is preceded by Gede Olgudach and followed by Olfinecta. But from the Tract on the Picts (Skene, 318) we find that Eilim Ollfhinachta was the 2nd, and Geide Olgothach the 4th, of 7 kings who were indeed of the Cruithni of Alban, but who were kings of Erin: see p. 101.

³ Yet I suspect *Cest*, with *G* for *C* (see p. 51, foot) and the constant Pictish *e* = *ai*. This would be gen. of Cast = Holder's Castus, Middle Ir. and Highland Gaelic *cas* 'curled', Macbain's '*qasto-, root *gas*' (65).

and so on. Here *ur*, or *uur* (as we get it in *Uurgust* = *Ver-gustus*, Ir. *Fergus*) is the Ind.-Eur. preposition *upéri* (Fick, I. 374) 'over', 'beyond', which by the loss of *p* becomes *Uer* in 'Gaulish', *wur* &c. in O. Cornish, *uur* &c. in O. Breton (Stokes, 283) and eventually *for* in Irish. The Latin translator did not understand that it was this Irish *for*, and consequently transcribed the list so as to create 14 or 15 *additional* Brudes, each bearing the name of his predecessor with *ur* prefixed¹!

The following are the names of the Brudes according to the most likely readings:—

Pant or
Pont.

1. *Pant* (Pantos?) or *Pont* (Pontos?). He is said in one list (Skene, 5) to have reigned 48 years, and in another (Skene, 324) to have reigned 30 years in *Ulster*. His name may be a participial adjective from Stokes's '*⟨p⟩en kleiden' (32) or Macbain's *pan*, with the same meaning, which gives Pictavian *pontis*, 'dress' (see Appendix III, 140). Herodian (III. 14 § 8) says the northern *Βρεττανói* against whom Severus fought (i. e. the Picts) did not clothe themselves because they did not wish to hide their tattoo-designs. The name *Pant* may indicate one who adopted dress to an unusual extent.

Leo.

2. *Leo* apparently = Ir. *léo*, 'lion', which has been supposed to be borrowed from Latin, and the insular Picts of Leo's time could hardly have heard a word of Latin. But the cave-lion 'inhabited France while the stone-using primeval hunters lived in the country' (Boyd Dawkins and Sanford, *British Pleistocene Mammalia*, 161), the Kelts may have met the lion in E. Europe, and the Old High German *lewo* and O. Slav *livu* suggest that some other European peoples borrowed from the stem of Greek *λέων* while the *F* still persisted. In Keltic this *F* would disappear. In any case the Kelts of the British isles would certainly know the lion from the Greek coins of Massilia, and would probably learn its Greek name *leōn*, which, if they treated it as from an -ōn stem (though it is

¹ No one seems to have seen that the same sort of thing has happened in the Welsh pedigree at f. 193^b of MS. Harl. 3859 (*Y Cymmrodor*, IX. 170), only that there the equivalent Welsh preposition *guor* is used as 'beyond, backwards' not as 'beyond, forwards'. It originally ran 'Tacit. Cein. guor Cein, Doli. guor Doli, Dumn. gu(o)r Dumn, Amguoloyt', but *guor* was mistaken for part of the following name, and when the *map*'s were added by a later hand the result was 'map. Tacit. map. Cein. map. Guorcein. map doli. map. Guordoli. map. dumn. map Gurdumn. map. Amguoloyt'. So that Cunedag is credited with 3 ancestors who never existed

really from an -ōnt stem) would become *leo* in the nominative.

3. *Grant*. Stokes (B. B.) compares the O. Ir. adj. *grant*, Grant. 'grey or hairy' and Conall Grant in the Annals of Ulster under the year 717. Is this connected with 'grendā Bart' (Stokes, 118)? One list gives *Gann*, which suggests *Grand*.

4. *Gnith*. The stem is that of Ir. *gnéthech* 'active', *gnéthid* Gnith. 'operarius', acc. *gnithid*, and *gniad* 'servant, slave', for which see Windisch.

5. *Fecir*, *Feichir*. Stokes (B. B.) compares Welsh *gwygyr*, *Fecir*. *gwygyr*, 'alacer, strenuus'. Subsequently (279) he has connected the Welsh word, from a *vikk-* stem, with Irish *flech* 'war' from a root *vik-*, giving also 'viktā Kampf ir. fecht Kriegszug'. There is a variant *Feachtair*, and doubtless the name of this Brude='victor' or 'warrior'. See further p. 174.

6. *Cal*. See my remarks above on the Cālēdōnēs, p. 26. Cal.

7. *Cint*=Cintus, 'First', a well-known Continental Keltic Cint. name from the stem *Cinto-* or *Cintu-*, 'First', for the numerous connexions of which see Stokes (77) and Holder.

8. *Fet* or *Feth*. This may be an example of the common Fet. Pictish use of *e*=Ir. *di*, *ai*, which we shall see abundantly in the inscriptions: in that case it suggests *vatis*=Lat. *vates*, Ir. *fáith*, 'poet'.

9. *Ro* or *Ru*. A scribe's error for Rō, Ir. *rón*, Stokes's Ro(n). 'rōno-s... Seehund' (235). Cf. the derivative Irish Ron-an.

10. *Gart* may be from the stem of 'gartā Haupt. ir. gart Gart. Corm.' (Stokes, 107), and='Head'.

11. '*Cinid*'=Cinioid, Ir. Cinaed, mod. Kenneth, for which 'Cinid.' see Stokes (B. B.). The latter part of the name=the stem of Ir. *aed*, *aodh* 'flame', and the former may be from that of Stokes's 'keniō „orior“ ir. cinim ich entspringe' (76). The name would thus mean 'Rising flame'.

12. *Uip*=*Veipos*, 'Raven', for which see Appendix III, Vip. 143-5. It occurs in Pictavian in VIIIPOTALO, 'Raven-browed', and the *p* is Indo-European.

13. *Grid*, *Grith*, *Gruith*. These forms are apparently due to 'Grid' misreading of initial C as G. The confusion between the two is very common in the Pictish lists, and we have Gatt (Skene, 396) for Catt, Gircin (319) for Circin, and Gruchne (285) for Cruthne. Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing before 1140, tells us that in the time of Caesar one of the kings subject to

Cassibellaunus was the king of Alba, named Cridious, Cridius, or Cridiosus (IV § 3). This is sufficiently near in date for 'Grid', whose next successor but one fought Agricola in A. D. 85¹. The name is an adjective from the stem of *kr̥djon*, Ir. *críde*, 'heart' (Stokes, 95), which gives Highland Gaelic *crídheach*, 'hearty' or 'courageous'. This = old Goidelic **crídicos*, which, Latinized as *crídicus*, would explain the forms in the MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth².

14. *Mund, Muin, Munait*. With these must be taken the names (in the genitive) of a 6th cent. king 'Drest filius Munait' (vv. ll. Munaith, Manaith, Moneth), and of Biceot mac Moneit, a Pict of 728 referred to by Rhys and Stokes. Stokes suggests a comparison of Mund with Lat. *mundus*, and Macbain compares the latter and 'muinnte, munda, beauteous' in Highland Gaelic. I can only accept the longer stem as certain, and it seems to me a participial adj. from '(*monejô ich gelobe)' (Stokes, 210).

15. And now at last we get on firm chronological ground, discovering under 'Gilgidi' and 'Gidgie' Tacitus's Calgacus, who fought the Romans in A. D. 85. His name is the adjective of *calg* = 'sword' in Irish, and 'spear, javelin, arrow' in Highland Gaelic: it is found in O. Irish as early as the late 7th or early 8th century (Adamnan's life of Columba) as Calgach ('in Roboreto Calgachi', 'Daire-Calgaich'), and in Modern Irish and Highland Gaelic this means 'sharp, prickly', in Modern Irish 'angry, peevish' as well. Tacitus describes the army of Calgacus as throwing javelins, and using huge swords, and it is doubtless from one of these weapons that he derived his name—perhaps from his skill, perhaps from its size, perhaps from being tattooed with its figure—for I have pointed out (Appendix III, 151) that a chief of the Unalli in Gaul is depicted on a coin with a sword tattooed on his neck and face.

I have already referred to the frequency with which C has been miscopied as G in the Pictish lists, and this same blunder

¹ As the grandfather of Queen Victoria, who died in 1900, was reigning in 1760, it is even possible (though most unlikely) that 'Grid' was contemporary with Caesar.

² *Cridius* and *Cridiosus* are both corrections of *Cridious*, which is apparently miscopied from *crídicus*, just as the name of Fecir is miscopied Feoir in one of our Pictish lists.

has helped to pervert the name of Calgacus in both Pictish and Latin. Our text of Tacitus's Agricola depended till a year or two ago on two late copies of a lost MS.; the scribe of one of these copied the C rightly, the scribe of the second miscopied it G, but corrected himself—in spite of which Galgacus got into the printed texts and has only lately disappeared from them.

In the 8th cent. hand, moreover, *a* was continually written *u* or *uc*, and *i* was always undotted, so that the genitive Calgic might appear as *Ciclgic*; and, as *d* was constantly written with an unclosed circle (like *d*), this would be very naturally misread *Gidgie*. So we see that the form *Gidgie* of the Irish Nennius is nothing but a corruption of a genitive Calgic.

The alternative form *Gilgidi* is in like manner a corruption of a genitive *Calgich*, written *Culgich* and misread *Gulgidi*¹.

Three points in Tacitus's account of the battle with Calgacus call for notice. (1) Though he calls the country Caledonia, he calls the enemy Britanni, and represents Calgacus himself as so calling them. (2) He speaks of their *covinnarii*—and we know the *covinnus* to be Keltic and Belgian. (3) He mentions their *caetras*, and the *caetra* was a round leather Spanish shield.

We do not know when the reign of Calgacus began or ended, but he was either the last or last but one² of the succession of Brudes who reigned 150 years: consequently we may put their first year at about B.C. 65–35. They were preceded by 'Gest', who reigned 40 years, Guidal who reigned either 1 (1) or 50 (1), and (Oen)becan, who seems to have reigned 30³. That pushes back (Oen)becan to B.C. 185–156.

¹ Every palaeographer will at once admit the premisses on which these emendations are based. For others let me give an example from a passage of Nennius we have already met with. In c. 14 *damhcoctor* appears in 6 MSS. as *clamhcoctor* because the *d* had been written like *cl*; while the further confusion between *e* and *c* appears in *claricta*, the reading of one MS. for *dalrieta*.

² The Irish Nennius makes him last but one, but his successor Crin is not in any other list, and the scribe had got himself into a great mess at this point, so that the name Crin may be a blunder. In the 'Pictish chronicle' Calgacos is said to have reigned 150 years, which is the total length during which the Brudes reigned: this indicates that he was the last Brude, and that what was meant for the sum total of years of the dynasty was mistaken for the length of reign of the last member of it.

³ Another list says 100. Doubtless *trichet* (= trichait) *bliadni*, '30 years', was misread as *tri chet bliadni* 'through, or after, 100 years'.

He was preceded by the Hexarchy, of the members of which Ce is said to have ruled 12 or 15 years, Catt 12 or 22, Fib 24, Foltlach 30, Fidach 40, Cirec 60 or 80. This places the beginning of the Hexarchy at B.C. 265-166. Probably no one will insist on our adding Cruithne himself, to whom a reign of 50 (L) or 100 (L) years is assigned; but in any case it is clear that the range of dates allows us to place the Pictish immigration in the period B.C. 226-211 previously mentioned.

Crin. 16. The doubtfully-existent Crin (Skene, 397) might = Ir. *crin* and mean 'Withered', 'Dried up'. The modern Highland Gaelic form *crion* also means 'small', and the corresponding verb 'to stunt the growth'.

Tarain. The next king is *Tarain*, whose name may = *Taranjo-s (Stokes), and be from the stem of Ir. *torann* 'thunder', Welsh Morleo. *tarann*. He is followed by *Morleo* (Maroleo?), obviously 'Great-lion'; and he by 'Deocilunon' or 'Deocillimon', scribal errors 'Deo-cilunon' = for something like *Deoculinan*, 'Bright whelping'—where the latter element = Ir. Cu(i)lennan, modern Quillinan, a diminutive of Stokes's 'kuleino- Welf. ir. *culian*¹' (94), and the former represents original *dēiv-*, *dēv-* 'shining', from **dei strahlen* (Stokes, 144). The same adjective is seen in the name *Δηovas*, given by Ptolemy to the Pictish river Dee (Gael. *Dèabhadh*), a stream 'remarkable for . . . limpid purity' (Groome's *Ordnance gazetteer of Scotland*), the Welsh river Dee, and the Spanish river Deva².

'Cinioid' mac Artcois. Then comes 'Cinioid' i.e. another *Cinioid* or Kenneth, 'mac Artcois', 'son of Bear-foot'—where *art* = Ir. *art* 'bear' and *cois* Ir. *coss*, *coiss*, 'foot' (from Stokes's *koksá*). With this latter name (Artocoxos?) we have to compare Argentocoxos, 'Silver-foot³', a Caledonian of the year 211 mentioned by Dion (LXXVI. 16, 5), and it might be suspected that Artcois is a corruption of his name. But Tarain apparently reigned 30 years⁴, Morleo 15, and Deoculinan 40, which would put Cinioid the son of Artcois only 85 years after Calgacus.

'Deort' = Deoart. The next king, 'Deort' or 'Deoord' is obviously *Deoart*,

¹ See the genitive of this, *culien*, in one of our Pictish inscriptions (p. 66).

² And in the 'Ossianic' poems 'Fingal's' standard is named *Deoghréine*, the sunbeam, where *deo* is a substantive = 'beam'.

³ Cf. in the Irish story of Dermot and Grani the three champions from the sea, Ducoss, *Fincoss*, and Trencoss, 'Blackfoot', 'Whitefoot', and 'Strongfoot'.

⁴ Nominally 100: for the explanation see p. 53, note ³.

'Bright-coloured bear' (Dēvartos?): for *a* miswritten as *o* see Got=Cat in the 'Pictish chronicle'. Then comes 'bliefblituth . v . ' (Skene's facsimile), 'Blieblith . u . a . r . ' ^{An inter-regnum?} (MS. Laud misc. 610, f. 89), 'Blieblith . v a[nnis], r[egnauit]' (Skene, 398). In lists on pp. 149, 172 of Skene there is no such entry, and I read *blu* as short for some case of *bliadni*, 'years' (referring to those of the last king), followed by *esbuth* i.e. 'deficiency', 'vacancy', i.e. an interregnum of 5 years. These words may be Pictish (as well as Irish), for that was the original language of the list (see pp. 49-50).

The reigns of Cinioid (7), Deoart (20¹), and these 5 years ^{The Colchester tablet.} bring us down to at least 117 years after A.D. 85, i.e. to at least A.D. 202, and the next reign is a long one. Here, then, I notice the Colchester tablet in the British Museum.

DEO · MARTI · MEDOCIO · CAMP
ESIVM · ET VICTORIE ALEXAN
DRI · PII FELICIS AVGVSTI · NOSI²
DONVM · LOSSIO · VEDA · DE · SVO
POSVIT · NEPOS · VEPOGENI · CALEDO

Here we have in the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 222-235, a Caledonian named Lossio Veda, grandson of Vepo- ^{Lossio Veda.} *Lossio* (os), which last name either means 'Raven's brood' or else 'descendant of Vēp-' or Vīp-, the Brude. *Lossio* itself is taken by Holder to = *Lossio(n)*, but the continual dropping of -os to -o in Sequanian of an earlier date, and also in Pictavian of a somewhat later one, suggests that it = *Lossio(s)*, and this agrees with Holder's *Lossia* found at Turin and *Lossius* at Boulogne. *Lossā* is also common, and perhaps the stem is *laud-t*, *lōd-t*, 'praised', cognate with 'laudo-Gespräch, Gereade. ir. luad . . . lat. laus, laud-is' (Stokes, 237). *Veda* is a masc. *a*-stem from '*veid, *vid sehen, wissen' (Stokes, 264), and may mean either 'farsighted' or 'knowing'. 'Campe-sium' = 'Campensium', as in the British vol. of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* we have Bannies(es), Cauriesis, (Cle)mes, Cresces, fabriciesis, libes, mes(es)³: if this is not merely the

¹ Skene 149, 172—elsewhere given as 50.

² See the facsimile printed by Prof. Rhys (*Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scotland*, xxxii. 326). NOSI (for NOS?) = *nostri*.

³ The instances of *Campe-sium* in the British volume of the C.I.L. have no bearing, as they are all dedications to the *Matres Campe-sium*.

Latin adj. *campensis*, it is from a kindred Goidelic *campo-* whence Ir. and Highland Gaelic *ceap-ach* 'a tillage-plot', and the common Scottish place-name Kepp-och. *Medocio* is apparently from 'meido-s Ruhm. ir. miad (gl. fastus)' (Stokes, 205), and perhaps also the stem given by Stokes (6) as 'áku-s schnell. altcymr. di-auc ... corn. di-oc ... gr. ὠκύς, lat. ôc-ior' —meaning 'Swift of fame'.

'Deoto-
treic' =
Deococrot.

Our next king, 'Deototreic' (with many vv. ll.) is apparently one of those innumerable instances of the confusion of *c* and *τ*, and = *Deoco(i)croit* gen. of *Deoco(i)crot*, from *deo* 'bright' and *cóicroth* 'boss' (O'Curry), *cocroth* 'shield' (O'Reilly). He is called brother of Diu, whose name Stokes (B. B.) has naturally equated with Deo-, and this adjective seems to exist in the Irish names Diucull (killed in 615, *Tigernach*), and Diucuill (who died in 700, *Four Masters*). But see p. 174.

Congust.

Then comes 'Usconbut's', 'Usconbest', 'Conbust', 'Combut', or 'Cumbust'! The Us- is simply the preposition *ur* written with long Irish *r*(*p*) which was extremely liable to be read as long Irish *s*(*j*), and we should restore Congust = Congustus, Irish Congus, with ogmic gen. Cunagussos, and Welsh Cingust (Stokes, 84), which I derive from *kuno-* 'hound' (Stokes, 92) and 'gusô ich wähle' (id., 115) i.e. 'Chosen¹ hound'. It may be thought violent to presuppose *g* instead of the *b* of the MSS., but the *z* of the 7th and 8th centuries, when written *on* the line (as it often was), was very liable to be misread as *ð*, and in Catullus LXII. 9 the undoubted *ignes* became corrupted into *ibres, imbres*, because *ign* was read as *iðp*.

Cara
na
Crec(t) ?

Next comes a king reigning 40 years, called Caruorft (Skene's facsimile), Crautreic (MS. Laud misc. 610), Fevanacherthe (Skene, 149), Karanethrecht (173), Karanothrecht (285), and with (only a 7 years' reign) Crutbolc (398). A palaeographical explanation can be given of almost everything in these variants, but I cannot be sure what was the original. Perhaps *Cara na crec*, i.e. Cara 'of the plunderings' (Ir. *crech*), or *na crect*, 'of the wounds' or 'ulcers' (Ir. *crecht*). Cara is Ir. for 'friend', but we might conjecture Carā = Caran (its diminutive?), a name in the Ulster Annals (978-9), or (from confusion of *p* (= *r*) and *n*) even Cana, 'Cub' (see p. 58).

¹ 'The office of *Rí*g or king, of whatever rank, was elective' in ancient Ireland (O'Curry, *Manners &c.*, I. ccxxxii).

The next name 'Deoardiuois, Deordiuois', is almost beyond Deoart II. doubt a corruption of *Deoart-vuds*, 'Deoart i.e. secundus'. After him comes 'Uist', i.e. *Gust* 'Chosen' (Stokes, 115): *Gust*. the dropping of the *g* is due either to syntactic aspiration into *gh* (see p. 61 on *Onuist* and *Unuist*), or to 'eclipse' after a previous *-n* e.g. *bliadain*, 'year'—see Zeuss-Ebel, 63 b-65 b, 184 b-185. Another *Ru*, i.e. *Ron*, follows, and then a Belgian, 'Ru' = *Ron*. *Gartnait Bolc* or *Bolg*, *Gartnait* being a diminutive of *Gart*, the Belgian. 'Head' (for *-nait* see Stokes (B. B.)). *Gartnait* = *Brecht, mac* 'Breth' = 'buthut'.

The next king is 'Breth', which I take to be an error for *Brecht* (see Windisch) = *mrecht*, 'Varicoloured', and he is called 'filius buthut', 'mac buthud', 'mac Buithed'. This latter appellation (= *Macbiuthut*?) looks strangely like a form of the later *Macbethad* (our *Macbeth*), 'Son of Life'¹, suggesting that he was a Christian. We found that the 5 years' Interregnum carried us at least as late as 202; add *Deoco(i)crot* (40 years), *Congust* (20), his successor (7 or 40), *Deoart II* (20), *Gust* (probably 1²), *Ron* (probably 30²), and *Gartnait Bolc* (9), and we have the accession of *Brecht* brought at least as late as 329 or 362. But much later it cannot be, and the conversion of the Picts N. of the Forth is ascribed to *St. Ninian*, who died about 432 and cannot have begun it before the late 4th century. Still, any Pictish king might be the son of a foreign father, and might have been brought up a Christian within Roman territory. See further on this name p. 174.

The next king is called 'Vipoig nainet' or 'Vipoig namet' *Vip Ogne-*
met (?)

¹ The honour of this explanation is not mine. We know *Macbethad* does not mean 'son of a man named Bethu', for his father was *Finlach*. And the Irish king *Macbeataid* whose death the *Ulster Annals* place in 1014 was the son of *Muredagh*.

The Highland Gaelic nom. is *beatha* 'life' = Ir. *beothu*, *bethu*, which has gen. *bethad* (*Macbain*, 28; Stokes, 165). For *biu*- as earlier form of *beo*- cf. *biu*, *beo*, 'living' in Irish, and perhaps *Diu*, *Deo*-, in our Pictish lists. *Biutut* would be from the same *-ūt* stem as the nominative, but *Biutat* is possible, as the *u*-shape of *a* lasted till the 11th cent. In the fictitious list of Pictish witnesses to a charter in the Legend of *St. Andrew* (*Skene*, 187) is *Talarg filius Ythernbuthib*: is this a misunderstanding of *Talarg mac ythern biuthut*, 'Talarg son of eternal life'? Cf. *Itarnan* (*Annals of Ulster*) or *Itharnan* (*Tigernach*), who died 'apud Pictores' in 668, the name *Ætern* of *Cunedag's* father, and the name *Eternus* or *Edern* of 3 saints in Wales.

² *Gust* is said to have reigned 50 and *Ron* 100 years, but we have already had one certain case of the confusion of 1 and 11, and two probable cases of the confusion of *trichet* = 30 and *tri chet* ('after or through 100').

(Skene, facsimile of the 'Pictish chronicle'), 'Uipo ignaiuet' (MS. Laud misc. 610, not 'ignaviuet' as Skene, 27), 'Poponeuet' (Skene, 149), 'Wmpopwall' (172), 'Verpempnet' (200), 'Vipoguenech' (285), or 'Uipo ignauit' (398). In some lists he is followed by 'Fiacua albus' (149), 'Fiacha albus' (179), 'Fiachna le blank' (200), or 'Fyahor albus', who reigned the same number of years and has already been rightly treated by Stokes as a mere doublet of him. Only one thing is clear to me—that the F-forms arise out of Fiac(h) 'Raven', a gloss on *Vip* (see Appendix III, p. 145)—but what reading of the rest of the name the glosser had before him I cannot say: perhaps the real word was Ognemet, 'entirely-noble', for which see Windisch under *og* and Stokes (192) under 'nemet- . . . edel, heilig'. See further p. 174.

Cana Tul-lachtna (?) Next comes 'Canutulachama', 'Canutulahina', 'Tonaculmel', 'Canatulmet', 'Calnatuhel', 'Canatumel', or 'Canutulacma'. The first part of this name is *Cana*, 'Cub' (see Stokes, 92, and B. B.), and the rest *may* be *Tul-lachtna*, 'Tawnybrowed' (see Windisch under *tul* 'Stirn' and *lachtna*).

Uuradach. He is followed by 'Wradech', 'Uuradech', 'Ferdach', or 'Feredach', a name of which the genitive is written Wredech and Uuredeg. Feradach or Fearadhach is found 11 times in the index to the Four Masters, and in Tigernach as early as the 1st century. It is apparently a compound of *Fer* 'man' (*Viro*-) and *-adach* seen also in Dunadach and Sluaghadach (Macbain in *Trans. of the Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, xx. 297, 300): see also pp. 34, 75 (*note*³).

This king is called by the surname of 'uecla' or 'uetla', and Prof. Rhys has supposed this to represent the surname of Lossio Veda, by the ordinary confusion of *d* with *cl*. In other lists he is surnamed 'fyngal', 'finlegh', and 'fingel', and in the fictitious list of Pictish witnesses on p. 187 of Skene, of whom the names 'are taken almost without exception from the names of the early kings in the Pictish lists', we have 'Pheradach filii Finleich', i.e. the son of Finnlaech (modern Finlay) 'White warrior' or perhaps (Macbain, 360) 'White calf'. If, however, the *-laech* be taken as 'warrior' derived from Lat. *laicus*, it can scarcely have existed in Pictish or Irish of the 4th cent., and I suspect that this king's surname was Fingalach, 'Parricide': see further p. 174.

The next king is another *Gartnait*, surnamed 'di uberr', *Gartnait* 'diuperr', 'duiperr', which in some very corrupt lists has been 'di uberr'. blundered into 'diues', 'dives', 'le riche'. The name may = *dub-err*, *dub-eirr*, 'black chariot-fighter'. But I suspect that it is connected with 'diupairt, diupart *F. Abnehmen, Betrügen*; diubairt *deception . . . O'Don. Suppl.*', in connexion with which Windisch quotes 'na tiubrad *ne privet*' from the Würzburg glosses and 'doopir *privat*' from those of St. Gall: in short I believe it to be a note indicating that this king was deposed.

Talarg, Talorg, or Talorc follows. 'This is the Pictish *Talarg*. reflex of the Gaulish *Argio-talus* 'bright-browed'' (Stokes, B. B.).

And now we get on firm chronological ground with the *Drust*. first *Drust*, albeit his reign is given as 100 years! For we are told that in the 19th year of that reign Patrick the holy bishop came to Ireland, and in other passages in the volume the date of this event is given as 434 (Skene, 152, 387). This should make *Drust* begin to reign about 415¹. And, if we c. 415 A.D. suppose that 100, i. e. *cet*, is a scribe's error for 40, i. e. *ceuthorcha* or *ceiraça*², we shall find that the total years of all the remaining Pictish kings down to the middle of the 9th century work out with practical correctness. Henceforth the reigns are mostly short, never above 35 years, and we feel that the lengths assigned them are really derived from trustworthy records.

Another feature in the rest of the lists is that a few names constantly recur, like the Edwards, Henrys, and Georges of English history. We have 7 more Brudes; 4 more Gartnait; Recurrence of certain names.

¹ We found 329 to be the earliest possible date for Brecht's accession. Add the reigns of Brecht (7), Vip (30), Cana Tullachtna (4) and Uuradach (2), and we reach 372. That leaves about 43 years for the reigns of Gartnait and Talarg. The former of these is put at 60, which can be reduced to 20 as a misunderstanding of *tri fichit*, the preposition *tri* being mistaken for the numeral 3. We then have about 23 years left for one reign to which the lists give the almost certainly false length of 75. Is it possible that 25 was the number, that it was expressed as *tri* (preposition) *clic fichet*, and that this was misunderstood as 3 × 25?

Since the Brudes, apparently 15, are said to have reigned 150 years, and so many other of the early reigns are in a multiple of 10 years, I should not be surprised to learn that Pictish kings were at one time elected for periods of 10 years.

² This word seems to have become obsolete very early (being superseded by *da fichit*), for it is seemingly not in Windisch's *Wörterbuch* or O'Reilly, while in Highland Gaelic the dictionaries of the Highland Society and Macbain, and the grammar of Gillies, all fail to recognize it.

2 more Talargs; and 3 kings named with the derivative form Talorg-an; 10 Drusts, including the present one; 3 Nectans; 3 Cinioids; 2 or 3 Alpins; and 2 Onuists or Unuists.

*Drust,
Drost;
Drostan.*

Drust or *Drost* (sometimes miscopied *Drest*), and its derivative *Drostan*, should according to Stokes (156) be from the same verbal stem which gives *Drausus*, Lat. *Drusus*, *Condrust-is* (in Belgium), *Condraussius* (= *Condraustius*), Ir. *drúth* 'meretrix', Welsh *drûd* 'dear', Ger. *traut*. *Nectan* or *Necton* is a derivative of 'ir. *necht rein*' from earlier *nikto-s* (Stokes, 194), perhaps with sense 'baptized'. The remaining names of Pictish kings in the lists I take in alphabetical order.

*Nectan,
Necton.*

Alpin.

Alpin, or (with *umlaut*) *Elpin*, is queried by Stokes (B. B.) as from Lat. *Albinus*. I have no doubt that it is derived from the name of the *Albinus* who was set up as emperor in 192 by the Roman troops in Britain (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 79), and who was for a time recognized as Caesar by Severus—just as the royal name *Constantin* in South Britain may have arisen from the setting up of a *Constantinus* as emperor by the Roman troops in Britain in the early 4th cent. .

Celtran.

Cailtram, *Cailt arni*, *Cailtaine*, *Kelturan*, seems to be *Celtran*, with *ai* written as *=e*; *ā* written above the line and so readable as *ran*, *arn*, *ram*, or *arm*; and *m* readable as *ni*. It probably means 'Gloriously apparelled', from 'celt .i. vestis' in the additions to *Cormac* (Stokes's ed., p. 47), and *rán* (see *Windisch*).

Canul.

Canaul, *Canul*, is *Conall* in the *Annals of Ulster* (806), and is either a miswriting of that common Irish name, which = *Kunovalos* (Stokes, 85), i. e. 'Strong hound' (for *-valos* see Stokes, 262), or a compound of the allied *Cana* (see p. 58), 'Strong cub'.

*Con-
stantin.*

Constantin, from Latin, either directly or through the Welsh (of *Alclyde*?).

Galan.

Galan or *Galam* 'arilith' or 'erilich' or 'arbit'h', and *Galam* 'cennaleph'. In each case I suspect *Galan*, from Ir. *gal* 'valour' and *án* 'splendid' (and see p. 82), but Stokes (B. B.) refers to an Irish *Galamh*. He also treats the two kings as one, and this would get rid of the difficulty of explaining one of the two epithets attached to them: but the chronology requires us to retain both. The former may be compounded of the prefix *ar-*, *er-* (Zeuss-Ebel, 868), and the stem of (Macbain) O. Ir. *ilach*,

Arilach?

'paeon', whence Mod. Ir. *iolach* 'merriment' and (O'Reilly) *iolich-eachd* 'contentment'. Of the latter Tigernach and the Ulster Annals furnish the correcter forms 'Cindæladh', 'Cenn-^{Cenn-}alath', phonetic spellings of Tigernach's Cendfhaeladh, found ^{(fh)æladh.} in Connaught about 649. The first element is Ir. *cenn*, *cend*, *cind*, 'head'. The second is *faeladh* (becoming *fhaeladh*, pronounced *aeladh*, as the second member of a compound): it is derived from *fael* 'wolf', and in § 215 of the *Cóir Anmann* (*Irische Texte*, III. 376) the surname Faeladh is explained to mean that its bearer shifted into *faeladh* i.e. 'wolf-shapes'. So our name means 'with head like a wolf'.

Onuist, or *Unuist*, and *Uuen*, whose names are combined in 'Onuist' 'Uuen filius Vnuist' (Skene, 8), called in the Annals of Ulster ^{= Un-} ^{g(h)ust,} Euganan mac Oengusa (Stokes, B.B.). Just as Uurgust = ^{and 'Uuen'} U(p)ergustus, so Ong(h)ust = Oino-gustus = 'the One chosen', ^{= Eu-} ^{g(h)anan.} whence Ir. Óing(h)us, from *oino-* 'one' (Stokes, 47) and 'gusð ich wähle' (Stokes, 115). Eug(h)anan is a derivative of Irish Eog(h)an, and in Uuen we have the same dropping of medial *gh* as in Un(gh)uist: cf. *Mac-innes* and *M^eAinsh* = *M^eAonghuis*, and *Ewen*, *Mac-ewen* (Macbain, 356, 359). Adamnan (*Vit. Col.* II. 9) mentions a Pictish priest named Iogenanus in Leinster. For derivation cf. *Εὐγενής*, Eugenius? (Macbain, 359).

Uurad or *Ferat* seems to be simply the nominative of a *Vurad*. Feradach- stem for which see p. 58. This king is called in one chronicle (Skene, 202) Feradagus, and the genitive is thrice given in the form Feradhach.

I have designedly omitted the names of the *fathers* of the later kings where they are recorded, because it is notorious ^{Fathers of kings might be foreigners.} that the Pictish right of succession came through the mother: the king's *father* might be of any nation. We know from Nennius (57) that the Brude, king of the Picts, against whom Ecgfrid of Northumbria lost his life was the son of a king of Alclyde, and that his mother's father (king of the Picts also) was son of Anfrid, Ecgfrid's own father's brother (see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 263). And I suspect that Brude 'filius Mailcon', the Pictish king baptized by Columba, was son of the king of N. Wales, Maglocunus or Maelgwn, who died in 547.

There is one name of a Pictish chief preserved in the Annals ^{The name} of Ulster to which I wish to call attention—that of 'Finn-^{Finnguine.}guine filius Deileroith' who fell in 710 in battle against the

Saxons. The same Annals mention under 728 the deaths, in a Pictish civil war, of 'Finguine mac Drostain' and 'Ferot mac Finguine'. Macbain (366) derives this name from '*Vindo-gonio-s, "fair-born"', and traces it through E. Ir. Finguine, Middle Ir. Finnguine and Finghin, Old Gaelic (Book of Deer) genitive Finguni, Middle Gaelic Fionghuine, and Macfingon (1400), to present Gaelic M'Fhionghuin and (English spelling) Mackinnon. If that chain, taken with the fact that the name was Pictish, does not make Pictish to be Goidelic, and the ancestor of Highland Gaelic, what would?

*Drostan,
Deileroth.*

As regards the fathers of these two Finnguine's, Drostan is of course a derivative of Drost, while Deileroth (Deleroth in Tigernach) is pretty clearly shown by a quotation in Stokes (B. B.), 'meic Delaraid de Cruthentuath', to be a Pictish name. Its second element apparently = circle, wheel, circumference, boss of shield (?)—see Windisch under *cóic-roth, com-roth, roth*. Its first may be from a **dillo-* stem whence Macbain derives *dealan*, 'lightning', and Ir. *dealán*, 'a spark, flaming coal'. Its meaning may be 'Lightning-wheeled' or 'Fiery-shielded'.

Pictish
women's
names.

We have had no Pictish women's names. The Legend of St. Andrew supplies two. The wife of king 'Hungus' is 'Finchem', his daughter 'Mouren' (Skene, 185). Here, as Stokes (B. B.) has suggested, Finchem = the Irish Findchaem, Finnchoim, 'beautiful-haired', from *find-* 'hair' and *cóem, cáem* 'beautiful'. As to Mouren, who was the first person buried at St. Andrew's (Skene, 185), we read two pages later that a chapel was built there 'in honorem Muren cujusdam virginis'. Her name (frequent in Irish as Muirenn) means 'sea-bird', from Ir. *mur-* = 'sea' (as in *mur-brucht, mur-dhuchán, mur-geilt*) and Ir. *én* 'bird'. A curious parallel is afforded by the name of 'Ethne ingin Cianadon', 'Ethne daughter of Cianad', whose death is recorded by the Annals of Ulster under 777. As the Annals record 'Mors Cinadhon regis Pictorum' only three years earlier, it is likely that she was the Pictish king's daughter, and her name obviously = Irish Ethne¹, the name of Cuculaind's wife and of Concobar's, which may be from the stem of *ete* 'wing', *etin* 'birds', *ethaite* 'birds'. The Four Masters also give an Ethne, daughter of

Finchem.

Mouren.

Ethne.

¹ Stokes (Bezenb. *Beitr.* XI. 94) gives its gen. as Eithnend, and queries it as = Ethniu and having an *-ión* stem.

the king of Alba, under the year 56. Again, in § 52 of the *Moingfinn. Coir Anmann* (*Irische Texte*, III. 310) it is said that Coirpri Cruithnechán was so surnamed because Moingfinn, daughter of Feradach Fenct¹, king of Alba, was his mother, and that he was born and reared among the Cruithnich of Alba: her name (translated Mongfind by Stokes) = 'White-haired', *mong* (Highland Gaelic *mong*, *muing*) being Irish for 'hair'. The only other Pictish woman's name which I remember is that of Drusticc, daughter of Drust (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. *Drusticc.* 136), which is from the same stem as her father's, with the Irish feminine substantival suffix *-icc* (Zeuss-Ebel, 812).

To insist that its nomenclature shows Pictish to have been a mere Goidelic dialect is now superfluous. The only question is, when did it drop Ind.-Eur. *p*? I can only say that 'Virolecus' suggests a time before 598, and 'Vip ognemet' (or whatever the latter word is) a time after 335.

The Pictish inscriptions.—I now come to the inscriptions. I shall first try to show that the word *Pett* or *Pitt*, so common as the first element in Highland Gaelic place-names, had a traditional form *with* P used in the transmission of ancient holdings, and a current form *without* P used in ordinary speech and writing. I shall then try to show that exactly the same thing is apparently true of the word *ua* 'grandson', 'descendant'—that it sometimes has initial *p*, but only in cases where a personal name is used, *more Hibernico*, as that of land—land which may have been so named centuries previously.

The Pictish inscriptions. *Pett, Pitt.*

Pua, Ua.

Irish *ditt*, *ditte*.

There are in Irish two words, obviously connected by derivation, (1) *ditt*, *ait*, 'place' (fem. i- stem), and (2) *ditte*, *didde*, or *dite*, 'dwelling' (masc. -ia stem). Highland Gaelic has corresponding to them (1) *ait*, (2) *àite*, one of the pronunciations of which is *àihite* (à^htʰə). On the Pictish stones there are the following forms also corresponding (Pictish *e* being continually found where Irish and modern Highland Gaelic have *ai*):—

(1) *eht* (Keiss and Scoonie), *ehht* (Dyke), *hèhht*² (Lunast- *Corre-* *ehht* (Formaston), *ett* (St. Vigean's), *ètt* (Lunasting), *èt* *sponding* *forms on* *Pictish* *stones.* (longest Conningsburgh inscription), *edd* (Dyke and Kilmaly),

¹ The surname Fenct seems due to confounding him with F. Fechnach, king of Ireland (§ 107), and miscopying a contracted form of the latter name.

² I use *è* for the ... (<... ogam as distinguished from ... ||| ...

idd (Shevack), ? *it*¹ (Easter Aquhollie).

In the Keiss stone *eht* is preceded by *n* i.e. '*n=in* or *an* 'in', and in the Formaston stone *ēhht* is so preceded: these are accordingly loc.-datives. '*n* for the prep. *in* is found in Middle Irish (see p. 174) and for the prep. *an* is common in Highland Gaelic; and *n* cannot be taken as the O. Ir. neuter article—for *áitt* is fem. in Irish, and in the Formaston stone *nēhht* aspirates a following loc.-dat. pl., which it would not do if it were a nom. or acc. neuter. In the longest Conningsburgh inscription *ēt* is preceded by the preposition *d'*, and is therefore a loc.-dative. In the Book of Deer it appears as *ēt* (acc.) in the place-name *étadanin* 'place of two forks'.

(2) *aihta* (Kilmadock), *eh̄te* (longest Conningsburgh inscription), *ættæ* (Shevack). The variation of terminal vowel agrees with that of the Irish declension to which *áitte* (masc. ia- stem) belongs (cf. *dalte* and *dalta*, *cumachte* and *cumachtæ*).

*Pett-, Pet-,
Pitt-, Pit-*

With these I compare the place-name *Pett-, Pet-, Pitt-, Pit-*. In the Book of Deer we have the form *pett* (dat. and acc.), *pet* (do.), *pette* (gen.). And the Fordoun stone seems² to read

Pid.

PIDARNOIN

in good half-majuscule characters (see plate opposite) which might have been written even as early as the 6th cent. .

From *pete*
stem.

I believe that the stem is '*(<p>ete ausbreiten' (Stokes, *Urk. Spr.* 27) which gives Highland Gaelic *aitheamh*, Eng. *fathom*, Lat. *pateo*. According to Ascoli there is also an O. Ir. *aith*, gen. *atho*, 'planities, campus, area'. Cf. the stem (<p>et 'fly', which produces in Ir. *dith* and '*ette, eite* (aith + te . . .)'—Ascoli, *Glossarium Palaeo-Hibernicum*, xlix. I suggest that in Irish the *-tt* of *áitt* and *áitte* represents earlier *tht* (see p. 10, note³), and that the *ht* of the Pictish forms does the same: the Pictish inscriptions are markedly phonetic, and the pronunciation of *th* both in Irish and Highland Gaelic is *h*. As *d* frequently = *th* arising by infection from *t* (Zeuss-Ebel, 73), this may explain the single *-d* of the Fordoun stone.

Petts in

The names of the Petts mentioned in the Book of Deer are

¹ Prof. Rhys's reading.

² The only doubtful letters in the photograph are the NO. The N looks as if it had a long first stroke and might be a monogram for IN; and the O has a top lefthand stroke suggesting a b. But these may be mere flaws in the stone, as Mr. J. Romilly Allen's facsimile (*Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scotl.* xxvi. 253) from a rubbing gives simple NO.



THE FORDOUN INSCRIPTION

(i) Pette \overline{mc} garnáit, 'P. of son of Garnáit', (ii) Pett *in*mulenn, the Book of Deer. 'P. of the mill', (iii) Pett \overline{mc} gobróig, 'P. of son of Gobróch', (iv) Petmeccobrig, 'P. of son of Cobrach', (v) Pett Maldúb, 'P. of Maldúb', (vi) Pet ipáir (see p. 174). The entries are all of the 12th cent., but they are records of earlier grants.

I come now to the Pictish inscribed stones. They are all concerned with the ownership or occupation of lands or dwellings. Some, found near to churches, bear a cross to show that the church was owner or occupier. The following extract from the 12th cent. entries in the Book of Deer will show that the Picts used boundary-stones:— Pictish inscribed stones are march-stones. Evidence of the Book of Deer,

7 dórát inedbáirt dóib úacloic intiprat goníce chlóic pette \overline{mc} garnáit.

i. e. 'He' (béde cruthnec, Bede the Pict) 'gave in offering to them' (Columba and Drostan) 'from Stone of the Well to Stone of Pett of M^cGarnáit'. See also p. 36, last paragraph.

And the following extract from the Legend of St. Andrew and the Legend of St. Andrew. (Skene, *Chron. of the Picts & Scots*, 186) proclaims the use of church boundary-crosses in the time of 'Hungus, filius Ferlon, magnus Rex Pictorum':—'In signum vero regie commendationis, per loci circuitum divisim 12 cruces lapideas viri sancti erexerunt'. The occasion was a grant made by the king to God and St. Andrew 'in terra Pictorum ad locum qui Muckros fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem Kilrymont dictus . . . Muckros vero nemus porcorum dicitur¹' (185). The time referred to is the second quarter of the 8th cent..

I. *Inscriptions containing no name except that of the owner or occupier.*

1. *Fordoun.*

.....

PIDGRNOIN *pid Arnoin* ('place of Arnán')

The Fordoun inscription.

[In the old church. Traces of lost line above. Arnán may=St. Ternanus or Tarnanus i. e. *Arnán* with the honorific prefix T'. The gen. would be Arnáin, and *di* is often varied to *ði* in Irish (Zeuss-Ebel, 30^b). Fordoun was the alleged burial-place of St. Palladius (5th cent.), whose disciple St. Ternan is called (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II. 29), and the independent existence of the name Ernán (a relative of Columba) suggests

¹ See p. 38. The king's own name = our 'Angus Mac Farlan'.

66 *The Kilmadock and Burghead inscriptions*

that Ternan = T' Ernan. See further p. 175. A cross is carved on the same side with the inscription: also Pictish symbols and 3 hunters on horseback, probably the grantor of the land and his sons.]

The Kilmadock inscription. 2. *Kilmadock*. Found in a stream (*the Annet burn*) near the ancient church of St. Madoc: now in my possession.

YY (occupant's double *torc* or 'notch')

ΥΕΥΛΙΘ *U Culiæn* ('Ó Culiæn')

N

O ΤΨΑΤ *O Tuat* ('Ó Tuat (?) or Tua')

ΤΤ (occupant's double *torc* or 'notch')

ΛΛΙΠΤΑ *a aihta* ('his dwelling')

[The stone looks to have formed the top righthand corner of a doorway¹. On the right of the first occupant's *torc* are marks which *may* be a faintly outlined broad cross sloping to the right, on a pedestal—but this may be mere fancy. The writing, which *may* be as early as the 7th cent., is in two hands, representing successive occupancies. The second inscription is in half-capitals of Northumbrian type, as shown by the 3 unbarred *A*. The *U* and *O* of course = ordinary Irish ('Grandson' or 'Descendant'); *Culiæn* is a correct gen. of Ir. *culian*, 'whelp'. *Tuat* I suspect to be an uninflected gen. of a nominative of which *Tuatan* (*Annals of Ulster*, 560) may be a derivative. And *a aihta* = Ir. *a áithe*. The double notch or *torc* will be illustrated by the next stone.]

The Burghead inscription. 3. *Burghead*.

ΛΟΡC *torc* ('notch')

ÆCBEAD 'Æcbead ('of Macbead')

ΥΟΡC *torc* ('notch')

ΙΝΓΝΕ *inigne* ('of daughter')

ΝΟ (?) *no* (?) ('new'?)

[Here we have two occupants, probably a father and daughter in succession. The first writes 'Notch of Macbead'. The next apparently writes 'New notch of (his) daughter'. The T is in each case both a T and a *torc* or 'notch', the man forking the *bottom* of his T, the woman forking the *top* of hers. We have seen similar 'notches' in the last inscription. In the

¹ In Ireland lintel-stones with the occupier's name in ogams are still to be found *in situ*.



THE KILMADOCK INSCRIPTION
($\frac{2}{3}$ of natural size)



THE BURGHEAD INSCRIPTION

Greenloaming stone they are found as T T ; in the Lunasting stone as a slanting downstroke, with the top forked like the feathering of an arrow, crossed by a horizontal line ; while the Scoonie stone has on one side a slanting trident, and on the other † : in fact T in every 5 inscribed stones has a *torc*¹. For the meaning of *torc* see the glossary to Alex-^{The *torc*.} ander Carmichael's magnificent *Carmina Gadelica*, II. 342 :—

Torc, a cleft, a notch . . .

Torcan, dim. of 'torc,' a cleft.

Torcan . . . a bi-forked carrot . . .

Miss Ella C. Carmichael also sends me the following important information from her father :—' When dividing land in the old native way the Outer Islemen cut a *torc* between each man's land and that of his neighbour as a sort of march . . . it was not unlike the broad arrow of the Ordnance Survey'.

Æc=the aspirated gen. *Mhæc*, with *mh* sounded as *w* and then dropped : we have it as *Aig* in the first and *Æc* in the second Shevack inscription—cf. Highland Gaelic *Ic* for *Mhic*, the modern form of the same genitive². The name *macbead* occurs twice in the 12th cent. entries in the Book of Deer, and Macbain treats it as Macbethad, 'son of life', with loss of the *th* (pronounced *h*)³. *Inigne* (in which the first N and second I are ligatured in the usual way) is very interesting as linking *ingen*, *inghean*, and *nighean* : we have an ogamic form *inigena* (Stokes, III). The last word *may* be the name of the woman's father, but I think it is an adj. *no*= 'new', agreeing with *torc* ; cf. Ir. *noe* ('novorum', Ascoli, *Glossarium pal.-hib.* ccclxi, *no* (O'Reilly).]

¹ A rapid glance over Brash's plates shows clear instances of the *torc* on Irish ogam-stones. Thus in 21 fig. 2 what appears to be a short sword is stuck in the right arm of a cross, and in 22 fig. 1 the same kind of sword appears by itself ; in 23 fig. 6 an upright line forked at top and bottom is crossed at right angles by one which has a trident at each end ; in 24 fig. 1 we get an arrow with a *svastika* on either side. The carefully partitioned rectangular drawing on 25 fig. 2 is, however, apparently not a *torc*, but a plan of interments in a burial-plot belonging to the person named on the stone (which is in a churchyard).

² I presume it is owing to similar syntactic aspiration that in so many Manx surnames Mac has been worn down to C or K : see for endless instances A. W. Moore's articles in *The Manx note-book*, and for two of them Rhŷs's *Rhind lectures*, 5.

³ He also mentions the dropping of *gh* and *dh* by the Book of Deer in *bri(gh)te*, *blie(dh)nec*, *fie(dh)nasi*. And see above, p. 57, note 1.

68 Keiss and longest Conningsburgh inscriptions

The Keiss inscription. 4. *Keiss*. (In undivided ogams—reading undisputed) *nehtetri* i. e. 'n eht *Etri*, 'In (the) place of Etre (Hostage)'.

[*Etri* is gen. of Ir. *aittire*, *aitire*, *etire*, 'hostage'. The stone belongs to Caithness, a battleground between the Picts and Norsemen in the 9th cent. . There are Pictish symbols on it.]

II. Inscriptions containing

(a) *the name of the occupier*

(b) *that of the homestead, named after the previous occupiers in the locative-dative plural.*

The longest Conningsburgh inscription. 1. *Conningsburgh* (Shetland): now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Two lines of ogams¹, undivided:—

dètoddre(v) *d'* èt *Oddre(v)* ('at place ODRAIBH')

ehteconmorr *ehte Con Morr* ('dwelling of Cu Mor')

[*d'* is Irish *d'*. *Oddre(v)*=Ir. *Odraibh*, 'Grays', =Eng. 'gray, fallow, pale-faced': from the same adj. comes the surname Maguire=Mac Uidhir, and Moco Odari is found on an Irish ogam-stone. Cù, gen. *Con*, is one of the commonest O. Ir. names. *Morr* is the suffix so frequent in names of Highland chiefs=Ir. *mór*, 'big'. The same apparent absence of vowel-infection in the genitive of this adjective will be found in two other inscriptions, and also frequently² in the early 16th cent. Dean of Lismore's book. But, as the doubling of a consonant in Pictish ogams normally signifies a short previous vowel, the effect of an original *i* in *mori* may have been, dialectally, to shorten the previous *ō*. This stone was found close to a Pictish broch, from which Conn-ings-burgh (=Connson's broch) doubtless got its name. The small size of it, the shape, and the fact that the ogams run on to a second side, suggest that it formed part of a doorway.]


The Formaston inscription. 2. *Formaston*. Two lines of ogams³, undivided: at end of the

¹ In l. 1 Prof. Rhys reads .. *v. ddrs*, and in l. 2 for the last two letters *r* or *f* followed by *s* or *v* and some vowel.

² For one instance see note ² on the next page.

³ The only difference between me and Prof. Rhys is that in l. 1 he treats the unique character O written across the stem-line as *O* and I treat it as *OI*, while in l. 2 he supposes III to = both *v* and *f*, and writes *Frobbaccënnev*. If the O were merely an *O*, there would be no reason for not using the ogam for that vowel. *It and the horizontal stem-line together* represent *oi*, for which there was *no* ogam: see p. 134 for the abundant use of horizontal *i*, laid across other letters, in Pictavian. The identical character is given in the 12th cent. Book of Leinster (facsimile,

first the stem-line is barbed on its upper surface like an arrow, to show that the sentence goes on below (see further p. 175).

maqqoitalluorr → *Maqq Oi Talluorr* ('Son of Ó Talluorr )
 nèhhtvrobaccènnèvv 'n èhht Vrobaccènnèvv ('in place
 BROBACHCHENNAIBH')

[Mirror and fragment of cross on same side: found in wall of Formaston churchyard near Aboyne. *Maqq*=Ir. *macc*, *mac* (Welsh *map*). *Oi*=gen. of *da*, *da*. *Talluorr*=‘Bigbrowed’. With *Tall* cf. ‘talo-s Stirn. gall. talos in Cassi-talos, Dubno-talos’ (Stokes, 124), and the doubling of consonants in Pictish ogams normally means that the preceding vowel is short. Stokes, indeed, gives¹ ‘cymr. tâl „frons.” corn. tâl. bret. tal „front”; but Prof. Rhys confirms me in saying that the modern Welsh is *tâl*, and I connect Irish ‘tul. *N. Stirn*’. -*uorr* is the same genitive as *morr* in the last inscription, with the common *u* aspiration for *mh*: we have *wor* for *mhòir* in the Dean of Lismore’s book². It would be equally possible to take Tall Uorr separately, and to compare with the former the genitive Ttal (or uninflected stem in place of a genitive) quoted by Prof. Rhys from an Irish ogam-inscription.

Vrobaccènnèvv is the loc.-dative pl. of an adj. which would be spelt in Irish *Brobac(h)c(h)einn*, pl. -*cenni*; *brobach* would be formed from *brob* ‘a speck, a spot’ (O’Reilly), and for *ceinn* see Stokes (78). The name means ‘Spotty-skins’. The aspiration of the initial B is due to the preceding loc.-dat. case.

The facts regarding the use of Maqq and O in this and other inscriptions are most important.

Maq(q) and
O in Pictish
inscrip-
tions.

Wherever Maq(q) is written in ogams it is spelt with *q*. The instances are—*nom.* Maqq (here), *gen.* Meqq (St. Ninian’s and Culbinsgarth), M’qq (Kilmaly), Aiq (Shevack). Now, although we have Irish names containing Mac as far back as Adamnan, who died in 704, there is no known instance of its being spelt with a *q* later than the Irish ogams. If Pictish were not Goidelic, Maqq would have to be explained as a

38 b) as the 2nd of a series of 5 diphthongs, with the name *ór*, i. e. *óir* or *órdoins*, both of which were names of the diphthong *oi* (O’Donovan, *Ir. gr.*, xxxii).

¹ Prof. Anwyl confirms *tâl* in mediaeval Welsh verse, but takes it to be lengthened from an ancient *tâl-os*.

² M^cLauchlan’s ed. p. 56, ‘brattich zwlle wor v^e morn’, translated by him ‘bratach Ghuill mhòir Mhic Moirn’, ‘the banner of great Gaul Mac Morn’. Cameron’s text also has *wor*. Note further the undeclined gen. Morn.

borrowing from the Dalriad Scots, who did not arrive till the end of the 5th cent., and in whose country not one ogam inscription has been found. O or U occurs repeatedly in our Pictish inscriptions, and that would have to be similarly explained: but, if this word is due to Irish influence, the use of it ought to have become extended after the imaginary Scottish conquest of the Picts, and there ought to be more O's than Mac's in Scotland—as there are in Ireland. Whereas this prefix is borne by no family native to North Britain—not even though it be descended from Dalriad Scots!]

III. Inscriptions containing

(a) *the name of a tenant or minor occupier*

(b) *that of the landlord or major occupier.*

The St.
Ninian's
inscription.

1. *St. Ninian's isle* (Shetland): now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. Undivided ogams.

lesmeqqnanammovvest

i.e. *les Meqq Nan am Movvest*

'Enclosure of Mac Nan in Mobhaist'

[*Les* is Ir. *less*, *les*: Prof. Rhŷs reads only one stroke (= *b*) instead of two (*l*), but part of a previous stroke on the broken edge of the stone (mentioned by Lord Southesk, and seen by me) is shown on the full-sized photograph I have had taken. See further p. 175. Prof. Rhŷs mentions 'an Irish name, O'Naan, recorded by the Four Masters under the years 1306 and 1336': Nan is given by Cormac as = Lat. *nanus*, 'dwarf', and this may be an undeclined genitive of it (see p. 69). *Am* is the regular form of the Highland Gaelic preposition *an* before following *m*. *Movvest*¹ postulates Ir. *Mōbhaist*. The stone was found in a burial-ground on the site of a no longer existing chapel of St. Ninian, and it doubtless marks an enclosure (such as is still common in Highland churchyards) assigned for the burying of a particular family. Consequently we are justified in guessing Mobhaist to = the name of the priest to whom the ground was originally granted. It means, in fact, 'My Baptist', *mo* being the usual Ir. honorific prefix for ecclesiastics,

¹ The *st* is the ogam so named in the Book of Ballymote, 4 long slanting lines. It is also given as *z*—for which Irish scribes sometimes used *st* according to Prof. Rhŷs. He himself supposes it to have been *f*. It is found in no other inscription.

aspirating a following 'b', and B(h)aist being O. Ir. Baptaist (Colman's Hymn, l. 15), Ir. baisde, Highland Gaelic Baiste.]

IV. *Inscriptions containing*

- (a) *the name of a tenant or minor occupier*
- (b) *that of the landlord or major occupier*
- (c) *that of the latter's property.*

1. *Lunasting* (Shetland): now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. Ogams, in divided and punctuated clauses. With 'torc' or mark. The
Lunasting
inscription.

This is the inscription of which Prof. Rhŷs writes 'So my challenge still remains, that if Pictish resembled Gaelic or Welsh, or in fact any Aryan language, those who think so should make good their opinion by giving us a translation of such an inscription, for instance, as the following from Lunasting, in Shetland:—

xttocuhetts : ahehttmnnn : hccvvevv : nehhtonn'

(*Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scotland*, XXXII. 325).

I gladly accept my friend's most reasonable challenge. Only let me be sure of our text before I begin to translate.

Prof. Rhŷs says 'The x at the beginning has the fleasg or artificial line produced right through it, so that it is possible that it is to be read as a letter, and in that case we should have to read it as *p'* (p. 374). Now (1) the 12th cent. Book of Leinster (38^b) gives our character with the name *eba* under it: that is the name of the diphthong *ea*, and the position of the character as the first of 5 diphthongs followed by *oi* and *ui* suggests that it was originally a modified *a*¹. (2) The 14th or 15th cent. Book of Ballymote gives it with the values *ea* and *ae* (p. 312). The truth is that it is merely a compendious form of writing the ogam ... (twice found in this very inscription) which I render *ð* and Prof. Rhŷs *ē*², which is formed of two angled *a*'s back to back, and which therefore must have been originally regarded as a sound modified from *a*.

Next, the fourth letter is not an ordinary *o* (i. e. ·· || ··), but a semicircle hanging from the stemline. I believe it to = *u* i. e. *U*!, which would else have occupied seven strokes.

¹ The order of the vowels in ogams being *a, o, u, e, i*.

² He himself says (in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, art. 'Ogam') 'In Ireland this x had two values: sometimes it represented one of the sounds of *e*.'

Thirdly, the *m* is not an *m* but a modified *a*. Pictish ogam *m* is a long *slanting* stroke: it is this slant alone which distinguishes it from the ordinary Pictish ogam *a*. But the character before us is a long straight line terminated at top and bottom with a curved tag¹: it is in fact merely some modification of *a*.

I separate and translate

<i>Ètt Ui Cuhèttis :</i>	Place of Ó Cuhetts :
<i>a hèhhtt annn :</i>	his place within :
<i>Hccvevv Nehhtonn :</i>	CUAIBH of Nehton :

[*Ui* is of course the Irish genitive. *Cuhèttis* is a survival of the *-s* gen. of the Irish ogam inscriptions: another instance of such survival is found in the Burrian stone, North Ronaldshay, Orkney². *Cuhèttis* may = Ir. *cuthaidh*, 'wild, savage' (O'Reilly), for *th* sounds *h*, Pictish *è* = Ir. *ai*, and O. Ir. *-t* is *-dh* in modern Irish. *A* is the Irish possessive. *Hèhhtt* shows in its *h*- a trace of original *p*, like Ir. *haue* for *paue*. *Annn* = Highland Gaelic and Ir. *ann*, O. Ir. *ind*, from original *endo* (see Macbain 15, Stokes 31). As single consonants are incessantly doubled in our inscriptions to indicate the shortness of a preceding vowel, a third *n* was added to distinguish the word from *ann* = *ān*: or, to put it more accurately, *ann-n* = *ān-n*. The following *h* is an aspiration of the succeeding consonant, after a preposition originally ending in a vowel—though (doubtless through confusion with *an* 'in') *ann* has now ceased to produce such aspiration. *Hccvevv* = *Chuaibh* from Ir. *cua* 'martial' (O'Reilly): the use of *v* for *u* is certain from *Nahhtvddaððs* (= O. Norse **Nahtúdaðs*) in the Culbinsgarth stone; and is also apparent in *Vi* = *Ui* on the Easter Aquhollie stone. *Cc* itself is twice used terminally (Macbain) in the Book of Deer to represent *ch*. *Nehhtonn* is the well-known Pictish royal name found as *Nect*-, *Necht*-, *Nait*-, with terminations

¹ I made two rubbings and a sketch of this letter, and have since re-examined it. Let me add that all the slanting *letters* in the inscription slant to the *right*, whereas the two *tags* curve to the *left*. Other modifications of *a* exist: one is to put a short straight tag across the bottom, another to bend the *a* so as to form an obtuse angle.

² These survivals in Orkney and Shetland are doubtless due to their remoteness from the ordinary currents of linguistic change. 'Dialects' are notorious for their archaisms, and, although the correct form of the neuter pronoun *hit* (= *it*) has not been found in literary English later than 1586, it is still heard in Scotland and among the negroes of the Southern United States.


-an, -on, for which see p. 60: the 'infection' we should expect in the genitive may be indicated by the doubling of the last consonant, i. e. by the shortening of the last vowel—see p. 68 on *Morr* = *Moir*.


The meaning of the inscription is that the tenement of O Cuhetts was a slice of the estate once held by the Cua family and at present by Nehton.]

2. *Culbinsgarth* (I. of Bressay): now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. Two lines of punctuated ogams on an elaborately carved cross, which includes figures of priests (?) and animals. The Culbins-
garth
inscription.

crrosc̃c : nahhtvddaððs : dat̃tr : ann—

→enniases (?) : meq̃qddrroiañn

'Cross of Nahtudaðs-dat̃tr in 

 Enniases(?) of Macdroiān'

[A stone in Shetland, which was conquered by the Norsemen in the 9th cent.; and the first person named bears a Norse name 'Night-rogue's daughter', showing that her father was a Norseman, though her mother may have been a Pict. With *crrosc̃c*¹ cf. O. Ir. *cross* (Cormac), Mod. Ir. *crois*, *croisóg*, Highland Gaelic *crois*, *crasg*-. *Nahhtvddaððs*² is gen. of a name *Nahtú-dáðr from O. Norse **naht*, *nátt* 'night' and **úddðr* 'misdoer' (cf. *úddðir* 'misdeeds' and *úddðā-maðr* 'misdoer'), and *dat̃tr* is O. Norse *dætt̃r*. *Ann* is the Highland Gaelic preposition *an*³ or *ann*; and after it the stem-line is barbed on its under surface like an arrow, to show that the sentence is continued on the opposite edge of the stone. The next name⁴ is of course the name of M^oDroian's holding. *Ddrroiañn* is another genitive with apparent shortening of final vowel, and may be phonetic⁵ for *droidhan*, 'little wizard', a possible derivative of

¹ So Prof. Rhys, but the *o* is possibly a modified one, *oe*. See further p. 175.

² The doubling of consonants after two *long* vowels is probably to be explained by the fact that the name was a foreign one, liable to be clipped in pronunciation by the Picts who used it.

³ Preferably *an*, with *n* doubled after *ð*: we had *ann* represented by *annn* in the last inscription.

⁴ Lord Southesk read Bernisest, Prof. Rhys first Bernises and now Bennises: my own rubbing has several uncertainties, but the first stroke I read as another continuation-mark. Had it been *b*, the preceding word should have been *amm*, not *ann*. The 2nd vowel is *i* modified by tags, apparently *ia*. The stone was on a promontory: *én* is Irish both for 'bird' and 'water,' *es* = Ir. *ais*, and O'Reilly gives *neasais* as *o. g.* (old gloss?) for *ceanglais* (head of the sea?). I translate 'Birdness'.

⁵ *dh* being sounded like *y*. Prof. Rhys reads *d̃drroann*, but the *oi* is certain. It is a diamond-shaped O written across the stem-line, which represents a

O. Ir. *drui* (gen. *druad*), Mid. Ir. *drai*, Mod. Ir. *draoi*, *druidh*, Highland Gaelic *druidh* 'wizard'.]

I have hitherto refrained from giving any inscriptions containing *p* beyond the Fordoun one, because I wished to prove first in what language the inscriptions are written and what is the nature and form of their contents. It will be observed that among those already dealt with are many examples of (*p*)*ett* and (*p*)*ua* with the *p* dropped: but in every case the word is part of the present description of the tenement, or part of the name of its present occupier—never part of a title which appears to have been handed down from previous occupiers.

The two following inscriptions contain *p*:—

1. *St. Vigean's*, near Arbroath.

drofzen:	<i>Drosten</i> :	Drostan's:
ΙΡΕΥΟΡΕΖ	<i>i Pev Oret</i>	in PY (FH)ORET
ΕΖΖFOR	<i>ett For-</i>	place 'For-
CUf	<i>cus</i>	cus'

[Stone in the porch, formerly in the churchyard, of the church of St. Vigean's, which is not heard of before 1178, and which contains no prae-Norman work. The inscription, however, cannot be later than the 9th cent., and is more like the 8th. It stands on the *edge* of a slab, one side of which has a cross and zoölogical ornamentation, while the other represents wild animals (including bear), with mantled man shooting at boar, and dogs chasing a deer. The edge opposite to the inscription bears 'scrolls of foliage', whence Mr. Romilly Allen and Dr. Anderson conclude that the sculpture is not much earlier than 871, though from its spiral ornamentation they cannot put it later than the beginning of the 10th cent. (*Early Christian monuments of Scotland*, pt. III. 237-8).

Drostan was the Columban saint to whom the abbey of Deer was dedicated, and his name on the stone shows it to be the boundary-stone of a foundation dedicated to him (perhaps jointly with St. Vigean¹). Doubtless the side bearing the horizontal I laid across it. The character is given unmistakably in the Book of Ballymote as *oi*.

¹ In the Book of Deer grants are represented as made to Columba and Drostan.



THE ST. VIGEAN'S STONE



THE ST. VIGEAN'S INSCRIPTION


cross faced the land of the church¹, while that depicting the hunter faced the place called (after its tenant) Forcus, which formed part of the hereditary holding known by the hereditary title (see p. 41) Py (Fh)oret, 'Descendants of Forat'.

Drosten is the Pictish gen. of Drostan (*e=ai*). *I* is the Irish preposition *i n-*, which loses its *n* before a *p*. *Pev* (*e=ai*) is equivalent to an Irish *h-aibh* dat. of pl. *h-ui*, *h-y*: for this cf. *Chronicon Scotorum*, p. 346, 'occisus est o aib racan', Eng. tr., p. 347, 'was slain by the Ui-Racan', and compare *au*, 'ear', which gives *dib* and *aib*—see also p. 107 below. I regard Oret as gen. of Forat, with *e* as usual=*ai*, *F* becoming *Fh* by syntactic aspiration², and that *Fh* (silent in Irish and Highland Gaelic) being omitted in writing. Forat I equate with Vurad or Ferat, the name of a 9th cent. king (pp. 61, 85), and with Ferot, that of a noble Pict killed in 728 (p. 62).

Forcus may have been a Scot. Pictish has Uurgust as late as the 9th cent., whereas Forcus is given by Adamnan (*Vit. Col. I. 7*) as the name of an Irish prince of the 6th cent., called Fergus by later historians. 'Fergusus episcopus Scotiae Pictus' is the subscription of an Irish bishop present at a Roman council in 721—see Holder, II. 995. As to syntax, *Forcus* is apparently³ a loc.-dat. in apposition with *ett*, and there is actually at the present day in Glen Ila, in the same county, a holding named Fergus.]

2. *Shevack*: now at Newton House, 2½ miles N.E. of The
Insch. Undivided ogams, on stem-line curving back after Shevack in-
direction-mark. scriptions.

iddaiqn'nnvorrennipua >iosir

i.e. *idd'Aiq N'nn Vor : renn i Pua*  *Iosir*

'place of Mac N(u)nn Mor : share in PUA IOSIR'

[For *idd* cf. the Fordoun stone (*pid*) and see Zeuss-Ebel, 5:

¹ In Glen Shee are modern march-stones marked on one side D, on the other I: the D faces the Dalhenzean estate, the I faces the Invercauld estate.

² Not by Old Irish rule, but by the varying practice in Highland Gaelic, and as old as the Book of Deer, of aspirating a noun in the genitive, immediately after its governing noun—without reference to the gender, number, or case of the latter.

Forad or Forat was probably the nom. of a guttural stem (see p. 61), but might come to be treated as an *o* stem, with gen. Forait and Foret.

³ Had it been an uninflected gen., as in Rhys's Irish instance of *Magi Vorgos*, I should have expected *F* to disappear by aspiration, as in Oret above.

The apostrophe after the first *n* is the same short oblique stroke which on the Kilmaly stone indicates the omission of the vowel in *Mqq*. *Renn* is the loc.-dat. of Ir. and Highland Gaelic *rann*, 'portion', with *e* as usual = *ai*. *I* is again the Irish preposition. *Pua* is Ir. *h-ua* with the original *p* undegraded. *Iosir*¹ is apparently gen. of a nom. *Ios-(fh)er*, 'Under-man', 'Vassal', with silent *fh* omitted.

The meaning of this inscription is that the land once belonging to [P]Ua Iosir had been divided, and that this is the boundary of the portion belonging to Mac Nun. Another inscription, in debased capitals, on the same stone shows who held the other portions.

ÆZZÆ	<i>ættæ</i>	dwelling
ÆCNYNYAYR	<i>Æc Nun Uaur</i>	of Mac Nun Mor
2YONOBOZO	<i>c(um) vono boto</i>	with the good wish
ÐN✠MÆLISI	<i>dn✠Mælisi</i>	of lord ✠Mælisius
YNÇÇI	<i>Unggi</i>	(and) ³ of Unggus
NOYOFAC TYM	<i>novofactum</i>	newly-made

[All the *Y* are really tailed *V*. *Uaur* or *Vaur* = *Vor* of the other inscription, and links Ir. *már*, *mór* with each other. *Y* is the regular Latin abbreviation for *cum*. 'vono boto' for 'bono voto' will not surprise any one experienced in mediaeval spelling. For instance, in Gattola, *Ad hist. abb. Casinensis accessiones*, 123, I stumble across an Italian deed of about 1033 containing *vonæ memoriæ* and *abbocato*, and on the next page one of 1035 containing *Venebentanæ* for *Beneventanæ*. The ✠ is *svastika*-shaped, as often in Christian monuments. The only palaeographical stumbling-blocks are the two *m*, which look like a single arch; but photographs suggest in each case

¹ Prof. Rhys thinks the last stroke imperfect (in some of the photographs before me it is not so); would treat it as a stop (unnecessary at the end of the inscription); would consequently read the letter not as *r* but as *f*; and says 'It is tempting, I must confess, to read . . . *iosif* and to fancy we have here a form of the name *Joseph*'. But according to Irish tradition the value of 4 slanting strokes through a line is not *f* but *st* or *z*—see p. 70 (note).

² The first two lines were virtually established before I studied the inscription. The last four were for the first time read and explained by me in *The Academy* in the autumn of 1893. The reading is not yet accepted by Prof. Rhys, but I firmly abide by its substantial accuracy.

³ The names are put one under the other as in signatures to a charter. This is probably the reason of the omission of *et*, though its omission is in any case permissible.



THE SHEVACK STONE

a ligature with a preceding upright, which would give a double arch. The + before the name of Mælisius is either the + used in charters before a signature, or is meant to show that he was an ecclesiastic. For *Unggi* as a Latin gen. of Unggus cf. Hungi, the regular gen. of Hungus in the Legend of St. Andrew which I have so often referred to. With *novofactum* cf. *novogestorum* (Ducange): the CT are ligatured. Photographs before me show that on this face of the stone a design was scratched—perhaps a cross, perhaps a plan of the boundaries, as in the Coillechat Burn stone referred to in my first note on the next page.]

I have little doubt that the Mælisius of this latter inscription Mælisius. is one of the two Malisius's who were bishops of Alba. The first ruled c. 955–963 (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II. 329); the second died in 1031 (*Chronicon Scotorum*). Of Unggus we can only guess that he was *mor maer* (viceroy) of the province. These two held other portions of the same estate, and the Latin inscription was newly executed with their good wish as a recognition by them of Mac Nun's title to the remainder.

That this simple explanation is the true one will scarcely be doubted by any one who reads the following translations from the 12th cent. records of land-grants in the Book of Deer:— Divided holdings in the Book of Deer.

‘Matain, son of Caerill, gave the share of Mormaer in Alteri; and Culn, son of Batin, gave the share of Toisech’.

‘Domnall, son of Ruadri, and Malcolm, son of Culeon, gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan. Malcolm, son of Cinaed, gave the share of King in Bidbin and in Pett-mic-Gobrig’.

‘Cathal dedicated in the same way his Toisech's share’.

We have already found in the Legend of St. Andrew (see p. 41) that estates *were* called in Pictish times by such names as Hy Hatnouhten, and that consequently the interpretation I have given of Pev Oret and Pua Iosir is not an arbitrary flight of fancy. And I deduce the conclusion that *in the transmission of ancient titles to land* the initial *P* was preserved as late as the 10th cent., although in stating the names of contemporary occupiers the contemporary form without the *P* is invariably used. The same distinction governs the use of *Pett* and *ett*: a *Pett* is a tenement of which the title has descended from times previous to the disuse of *P*, an *ett* is a tenement formed subsequently to that disuse. See further p. 175. P kept in ancient titles, but in those only.

The remaining inscriptions.

On p. 182 I have added the newly discovered, and most important, Brandsbutt inscription. I had meant to give in these Studies a fresh edition of the remaining Pictish inscriptions. But for lack of present time I have had to content myself with editing enough¹ to prove beyond doubt the genus and species of the language and the reason of the preservation of *P* in the modern place-names beginning with Pett and Pit. I need only add (1) that in the remaining inscriptions I find nothing un-Goidelic except the Norse name of a homestead in Sutherland², and (2) that, later on, I shall show from the names of Pictish kings in Ireland that the Irish Picts also spoke Goidelic.

Highland Gaelic descended from Pictish.

As soon as it is recognized that the ancient language of the Highlands was a sister-dialect to Old Irish, the natural inference is that their modern language is descended from this sister-dialect, and not from Old Irish itself. And the more closely this inference is tested the more certain will it become.

12th cent. Gaelic in the Book of Deer.

Pending the appearance of a full critical edition of that wonderful collection of Highland poetry made near the beginning of the 16th cent. and known as the Dean of Lismore's Book, our exact knowledge of the early literature of Highland Gaelic is confined to the 12th cent. entries in the Book of Deer.

¹ 12 out of 22 stones. From Prof. Rhys's latest list no. xiiij (Orkney) should be deducted, as being in Latin (*dn* or *dnæ* followed by a name). To the list should be added the Kilmadock and Brandsbutt stones, a Latheron stone, a new Conningsburgh stone, and a brooch belonging to Mr. Hugh W. Young—which contains either a real ogam-inscription or the ancient imitation of one. To my own latest list (published in 1897 in my book *Golspie*—London, David Nutt) the same additions should be made *plus* the Fordoun and *minus* the Kilmadock stone: but the Coillechat Burn stone should be deducted, as the marks which I read as ogams on this most curious stone ground-plan are not intentional cuts.

The Kilmadock and Coillechat Burn stones now belong to me, and can be seen in the Bodleian Library, together with a cast of the Formaston stone presented to the Library by the Marquis of Huntly, a cast of the Burghead stone given me by the owner, and a volume of rubbings and photographs most of which were taken by or for me.

The statement in *Golspie* (p. 270) that 'the Ogam alphabet is not found outside the British isles' was made in ignorance of the fact that there are marks similar to ogams on tablets found at Biere, 18 kilometers S. of Magdeburg—for which see Macalister, *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, II. 138 &c. . But from his plates I do not think they have any connexion with ogams.

² *Allhallorr*, from the stems of Norse *al* and *hallr*. In my *Golspie* the inscription is photographed, transcribed (with a complete alphabet of the ogams found in Scotland), translated, and furnished with a glossary. Prof. Rhys says of the last 4 letters of my transcript, that '*ecch* will not fill the space': but I hold that the gap on the edge of the stone (after the *e*) existed before the inscription was cut, and does not indicate a loss of unknown letters.

Macbain in his edition of it (*Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, XI. 142) says that its Gaelic 'as compared with the Gaelic of "Lebor na h-Uidri", the oldest Irish literary manuscript, composed about 1100, and, therefore, of nearly the same age, has the appearance of a descendant that is two or three centuries later', and he quotes Windisch as saying that 'the manner of writing shows already a stronger phonetic decay' (p. 143). 'But the departure from all Irish lines are the most important and most remarkable facts'. 'Cc is written for *ch*; this doubling of the consonants to show aspiration is unknown in the Gaelic languages, though common in the Brythonic tongues'—but this borrowing of *cc* for *ch* is as early as Goidelic ogams of the 5th and 6th cent., according to Prof. Rhys. 'The absence of the orthodox spelling rule known as "broad to broad and small to small", forced on Scotch Gaelic from Ireland, is in the Book of Deer most marked'.

And in modern Highland Gaelic we are met by facts like these. In the suffix of the past participle *-t-* is always hard, never softened to *-th-* after vowels (as in O. Irish): this carries it back to a stage of Goidelic more primitive than the earliest Irish known to us. Again Macbain gives 'srath, a valley, strath, Ir., M. Ir. *srath*, O. Ir. *israth*, in gramine': but in Sutherland we have the pronunciation *strath*, the English spelling of every 'srath' in Scotland is *Strath*, Stokes (B. B.) quotes *Strad*-kines and *Strath*-eren from Reeves's *Culdees*, and Skene's *Chronicles* give *Strathalun* and *Strathbolgyn*. *Str-* is *sr-* in O. Ir., *st-* is normally *t-*, and *-st* is *-ss* or *-s*: but in Pictish (e. g. *Uurgust* for Fergus, *Ungust* for Oengus) final *-st* was preserved, and the natural assumption is that *strath* is not of Irish but of Pictish descent: see also p. 176. Finally, take O. Ir. *flaith*, 'lord', and Highland Gaelic *flath*, 'lord': the former has gen. *flatha* and postulates original *vlati-s* (Stokes, 262), of a declension corresponding to the 3rd in Latin, while the latter has gen. *flaith* and postulates original *vlati-s*, of a declension corresponding to the 2nd in Latin. This *vlati-s* is 'gall. vlatos in der Münzinschrift Ateula-vlatos' (Stokes, *ib.*), but in O. Ir. it has been lost except in proper names. The Index to the Four Masters gives Flathghal in 782, Flathgus in 944, Flathroi in 772 (by mistake for Flathrae mentioned in 774), and Flathroi in 1022: but of these the first Flathroi is known from the Ulster Annals to have

Features in Highland Gaelic which cannot be explained from normal Irish.

been an Irish Pict, and the second Flathroi, being the great grandson of a king of Ulster, is likely to have been the same.

Mutual
reaction
of two
errors.

The fact is that the true history of the language and of the nation has been for centuries poisoned by the mutual reaction of two errors. It was supposed that 'Scot'land had been conquered by the Scots, and that the affinity of Highland Gaelic to Irish was due to the fact that the Scots were originally immigrants from Ireland. And on the other hand this same affinity was regarded as establishing the legend of the conquest and proving the complete and permanent subjugation of the Pictish people.

Picts and
Scots
kindred
peoples.

The legend of the 'Scottish conquest'. If the Picts ever *had* been conquered by the Dalriad Scots, the political and linguistic results would probably have been no greater than those produced by the absorption of the Angle kingdoms into the dominions of the Saxon kingdom of Wessex. There was probably no greater distinction between a 'Scot' and a 'Pict' than between a Saxon and an Angle: both names mean the same thing¹, 'Tattooed', and we shall find reason later on to believe that the original Scots were *p*-preserving Goidels who differed from previous Keltic immigrants into Ireland only in the fact that they started from Spain instead of from Belgium or Gaul. As regards the Dalriad Scots in particular, Prof. Rhys, speaking of 'the Dalriad Scots' of Ireland and 'the Dalaradian Picts' of it, says 'all Irish history goes to shew that they were closely kindred communities of Cruithni, and I take it that the names Cruithni and Scots may have been originally applicable to both alike' (*Rhind lectures*, 52).

The
Dalriad
settlement.

It was in 502 (according to the Annals of Ulster) or 496 (according to the Four Masters) that 'Feargus Mor mac Earca *cum gente Dalriada partem Britanniae tenuit*' (Tigernach). That this occupation was subject to a recognition of Pictish suzerainty is clear from the words of the Prophecy of St. Berchan respecting Aedan mac Gabrain, a Dalriad ruler of the latter 6th cent., translated by Skene thus (*Chronicles*, 82):—

¹ Under 628 we find in the Ulster Annals 'Mors Echdach buidhe regis Pictorum; filii Aedain. Sic in libro Cuanach inueni. Uel sic in libro Duibhdalethe narratur'. The king in question was one of the Dalriad Scots, and it might be inferred that the Scots themselves were sometimes called Picts. But probably 'Pictorum' arises out of a misreading (in an earlier chronicle) of *Cruitne* for *Cinntire*. Or was his mother a Pict, and did he claim the Pictish crown?

Nor was it happy with him that an Erinach
Should be king in the east under the Cruithnigh.

Short shall he be at their bidding in the east,
He will oppose their words.
When he shall embitter them, he would not be king
Under the ravenous Cruithnigh in weakness.

It is this suzerainty which explains the apparent discrepancy between Adamnan, who says that Hi was given to Columba by the king of the Picts, and Tigernach, who says that it was given him by the king of the Dalriad Scots. It has been supposed that the boundary between the two territories ran through Hi, and Skene prints a map (*Celtic Scotland*, I. 228) with the S. of Hi coloured Scottish and the N. coloured Pictish! The true explanation is that it was all Scottish, but could not be alienated by the Scottish king without consent of his overlord, the Pictish king. The Scottish king in question was Conall mac Congall, and it was his successor, Aedan mac Gabrain, who seems first to have attempted to shake off Pictish supremacy.

Hi a Scottish fief from the Pictish crown.

Revolt of Aedan mac Gabrain.

Thirteen years altogether
Against the hosts of the Cruithnigh, . . .¹
When he died, he was not king,
On Thursday in Kintyre (Skene, *Chronicles*, 83).

But, however they may have resisted in arms from time to time the claims of Pictish suzerainty, the Dalriad Scots were practically extinguished as a distinct power in 741. Under that year the Annals of Ulster record their 'percussio'. The attempts of late Irish chroniclers to conceal the facts by post-dating a line of Dalriad kings known to have reigned in the 7th and early 8th centuries have been thoroughly exposed by Skene (*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, and *Celtic Scotland*, vol. I), and Rhys rightly says 'the country thenceforth formed a dependency of the Picts' (*Celtic Britain*, 175).

The Dalriad Scots permanently crushed in 741.

Not only was it a dependency, but one governed (at least normally) by a Pict of the royal house—sometimes the Pictish

¹ I omit the next words of Skene's translation, 'mild the illustrious,'—because I cannot believe in them. The line, as he prints it, is 'Fri shluagh Cruithnech, cain in mhinn'. I am sure that *cain* = 'cáin Gesetz' or 'emenda i.e. damni reparatio' (Windisch, *Wörterb.*) and *in mhinn* = 'of the diadem', and that the meaning is that he fought against the conditions under which the subordinate kingdom was held from the superior one, whether those conditions involved investiture, tribute, the supply of armed auxiliaries, or anything else.

king himself¹. In 790 its ruler was Domnall son of Cusantin—presumably the Constantin son of Uurgust (= Fergus) who won the Pictish throne in that year by defeating Conall mac Taig. Conall himself was the next, and was followed by another Conall said to have been his brother. After that, Cusantin—apparently the Pictish king himself—took it under his personal control. Then came Aengus the son of Fergus, i. e. apparently the Ungust mac Uurguist who was Constantin's brother, and who succeeded him as king of the Picts. The next ruler was Aed mac Boanta, but he seems to have surrendered the government to Eoganan the son of Aengus, i. e. the 'Uuen' son of 'Unust' who became king of the Picts in 836; and when Eoganan was killed in 839, fighting the Danes, Aed was killed fighting on the same side. And this comradeship in death was only 5 years before the alleged conquest of all Pict-land by the Dalriad Scot Kenneth mac Alpin and his people!

The name
Kenneth.

Let us now investigate the story of this conquest, and let us begin with the name of Kenneth (Cinaed(h)) mac Alpin. What strikes me at once is that it is so markedly Pictish! Four Pictish kings had borne the name of Kenneth, but in the genealogies of the Dalriad Scots it is previously unknown.

The name
Alpin.

Two or three Pictish kings had borne the name of Alpin, the first being on his father's side a Dalriad Scot: but no other instance of it is found among the Dalriad Scots until we come to the father of Kenneth.

Nation-
ality of a
Pictish
king's
father im-
material.

We know that a Pictish king's father might be of any nation, so long as his mother was a Pictish princess. But, whatever his father's language, he always received a name derived from that of his mother. Thus, the son of Ainfrid the Northumbrian was called Talorgan, and the son of Bili the Kymro was called Brude. And, when we examine the genealogies of the Dalriad Scots contained in Irish MSS. and printed by Skene (*Chronicles*, 308), we find such familiar names of Pictish kings as Nechtan, Gartnait, Galan. The case of Galan (*ib.* 311) is very noticeable. 'Bairfinde mac Nadsluaig iii. *filios habuit* .i. Lugaid, Conall, Galan. Cruithneach

¹ All the following evidences are given by Skene in his *Celtic Scotland*. Before seeing what he has there written, I had myself conjectured the identity of Cusantin, Aengus, and Eoganan. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 178) has also recognized that of the last two.

a mathair *ejus*': two MSS. out of three have *sin* for *ejus*, and in any case it seems clear that the mother of *Galan* (and of him alone of the sons) was a Pict. Now only two Pictish kings bore the name *Galan*, and one of these reigned for a year or two about 555, and a calculation of dates shows that he might very well have been *Galan* the son of *Bairfinde*. His claim seems to have been contested, or else he abdicated; for, after reigning one year by himself, and one year with *Brude mac Maelchon*¹, he disappears for about a quarter of a century till his death in 580, recorded by *Tigernach*.

Next let us take the case of the earlier *Alpin*. He was apparently the son of the *Dalriad Scot Eochaid*. He wrested the Pictish throne from its then occupant, but was himself defeated by other claimants, and fled to *Dalriada*, of which he became king. From it he invaded Pictish Galloway, and 'destroyed it utterly', but in the hour of his triumph was killed by a single man lying in ambush in a wood overhanging a ford on a river (*Skene, Chronicles*, 198): 'et tunc translatum est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum' (*ib.* 149), and the series of independent rulers of *Dalriada* ended.

The earlier
Alpin.

Extinction
of the
Dalriad
kingdom.

Now we come to *Alpin* the father of *Kenneth*. That he was a *Dalriad Scot* on his father's side is certain. But that he was also through his mother a Pictish prince is very nearly certain from (1) his name, (2) the fact that in the chronicle which gives most particulars of him he is called 'rex Scotorum', without any indication that he had obtained that position by force. We have seen that the 'rex Scotorum' was for long before this time either always or nearly always a member of the Pictish royal family.

Kenneth'
father,
Alpin.

The last Pictish ruler of *Dalriada* whom we have previously mentioned was *Eoganan*. In 834 *Eoganan* became king of the Picts, and in the same year we find *Alpin* called 'rex Scotorum'. Apparently, however, *Eoganan* refused to make over the principality to him: for he is not admitted into the list of *Dalriad* kings in the *Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach* (*Skene, Chronicles*, 21). Either for this reason or as a competitor for the Pictish throne, he led the Scots against

¹ I have already suggested that *Brude*'s father may have been the well-known *Maglocunus* or *Maelgwn*, king of *Gwynedd*; and there may have been a war of succession between partisans of the Scots and partisans of the *Kymry*.

the Picts at Easter, and won a battle in which 'plures de nobilioribus Pictorum ceciderunt'. But it is hinted that his elation led him to neglect the precautions necessary to maintain his position¹, and in a second battle, on July 20, he was defeated and beheaded.

Had Alpin been not a Pictish prince at all, but simply the leader of a rebellion of the Scots against the Picts, his defeat ought to have been followed by the accounts of further struggles in Dalriada before his son Kenneth was established as its ruler. There are no such accounts, nor even the hint of any further conflict. Dalriada appears to have remained without any separate ruler a few years, and then his son Kenneth 'Dalriete regnum suscepit' (Skene, *Chronicles*, 8), a phrase which suggests that he took over its administration as a matter of course.

Whether Alpin wished to give his children a claim to the Dalriad or to the Pictish throne, his policy obviously was to marry a Pictish princess. That he did so cannot be proved, but in any case he gave to his son Kenneth a name unknown in the genealogies of Dalriada but which had been borne by 4 Pictish kings!

Kenneth
mac Alpin.

The chronicles relating to this period are so constantly discrepant in their dates, and in the lengths assigned by them to reigns, that it is impossible to ascertain accurately the sequence of events. But in 839 Eoganan, king of the Picts and ruler of Dalriada, died in battle against the Danes, and Kenneth mac Alpin is recorded as his successor in the government of Dalriada. In the 'Pictish chronicle' this is said to have been 2 years before he came into Pict-land (Skene, *Chronicles*, 8). Now in the previous list of Pictish kings given in that chronicle Eoganan's successor Vurad (Feradach) is said to have reigned only 3 years. But '2 years' and '3 years' may both represent a period of 2½ years, and one naturally suspects that Kenneth's action was nothing but the assertion of a constitutional title to the succession. That he was among the leading Pictish princes on whom it might devolve is almost self-evident from his being governor of Dalriada.

¹ 'Unde in superbiam elatus ab [*hiatus*] bello . . . a Pictis vincitur atque truncatur' (Skene, *Chronicles*, 209).

And this suspicion becomes a moral certainty when we find that Vurad was succeeded by *his own son* Brude (Skene, *Chronicles*, 202). Of the details of the Pictish system of succession through females we know nothing¹, but the name of almost every Pictish king's father is recorded from about 415² onwards, and not until the late 8th cent. do we ever find a Pictish king who can have been *son* of a Pictish king. Then we get Talorgan the son of Ungust reigning, and, as an Ungust had reigned some 20 years before, they may have been father and son. If so, however, Talorgan seems to have been accepted only by the Southern Picts, and to have come to a violent end, for the Ulster Annals record that in 782 Dubtholargg (= Black Tolargg) 'rex Pictorum citra Monoth periit' (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 301-2). In the early 9th cent. we get two more cases. Drust was the son of Constantin, and Eoganan was the son of Ungust. But even these did not *directly* succeed their fathers: Constantin was succeeded by his brother Ungust, after whom came first Constantin's son and then Ungust's son. But before Brude the son of Vurad no one ever mounted the throne in direct succession to his own father!

Pictish kings never succeeded by their own sons till the late 8th cent., nor even then directly.

This rule violated by Brude, the son of Vurad,

The *first* departure from the old Pictish law had not been acquiesced in by the entire Pictish nation: apart from the case of Talorgan in the 8th cent., Drust the son of Constantin had had to put up with the rivalry of another Talorgan, the son of Vuthol, during his 3 years' reign, and the same cause may have led to the war waged by Kenneth's father Alpin. Perhaps this *further* departure—the succession of a son *immediately* after his father—brought Kenneth himself into the field³ with his Argyll Scots: anyhow the son of Vurad reigned but a month (Skene, *Chronicles*, 150, 173).

who disappears after a month.

The family of Vurad were, however, determined to retain the succession, and, Brude having presumably been killed in battle, his brother Kenneth was set up; but he also disappeared.

Brude's brother Kenneth the next claimant.

¹ On this subject see specially Zimmer, *Das Mutterrecht der Pikten*, in the *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, xv, Heft 1, 209-40.

² There are a few earlier cases. The only exceptions they furnish to the rule mentioned are those of the mythical Cruitne, his seven sons, and their successor 'Oenbecan', who is variously termed son or grandson of one of them.

³ It is uncertain whether he claimed the throne then or on the death of Brude son of Vuthol (see p. 86): he may have been the candidate of the party of the latter.

Then
Brude son
of Vuthol. peared from the scene after a year. Then a claimant from another princely family is recorded as reigning for a couple of years: he was Brude son of 'Fodel', 'Fetal', 'Fochel', or 'Fokel'—i. e. he was brother of the Talorgan son of Vuthol who had contested the sovereignty of Constantin's son Drust. Finally, a third son of Vurad, Drust, is given as reigning for 3 years. He was killed at Forteviot, according to one story (Skene, *Chronicles*, 151). According to another, the Scots invited him and his party to a conference at Scone, undermined the ground on which they were to stand, and, when it fell in, slaughtered them (see Skene, *Chronicles*, 84, 151, 165, 174, 202, 299, 341—but most of these passages are only the barest allusions). Another account (*ib.* 209) represents the final triumph as the result of a series of 7 engagements with the Picts in a single day!

Parallel
case of
Henry VII. Whether or not that triumph was partly secured by an act of treachery, it finds an almost exact parallel in the accession to the English throne of the founder of the Tudor dynasty. Henry VII was a Welshman on his father's side, an Englishman on his mother's, and bore an English forename and title. His father's country, Wales, had long since completely lost its independence, though it sometimes furnished the style of 'Prince of Wales' to the English king's eldest son. Henry, starting from Kymric Brittany, landed in Wales, collected a Welsh army with which he invaded England, defeated Richard III (who was killed in the battle), crushed the attempts of subsequent pretenders, and established a dynasty. That *as a Welshman attacking England* he could have achieved these results we know to be ridiculous, and no Welshman is fool enough to say that the English were conquered by the Welsh under Henry VII. Everyone knows that he invaded England simply *as inheriting a claim, on the female side, to the English throne*. We know also that he was the nominee of an English faction, was joined by English adherents as soon as he crossed the Welsh frontier, and was victorious partly through the desertion of a large body of English troops to his side on the very field of battle.

Unluckily there is no contemporary evidence of the events which preceded the establishment of *Kenneth's* dynasty, and an anonymous chronicler of the end of the 10th century,

a monk of Abernethy or Brechin, has handed down a statement (Skene, 8) about Kenneth having destroyed the Picts. The reign of Brude the son of Vurad is followed by the words 'Kinadius igitur filius Alpini, primus Scottorum, rexit feliciter istam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis est nominata; quos, ut diximus, Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito sue malitie alienos ac otiosos hereditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum Domini missam ac preceptum spreverunt; sed et in jure equitatis aliis equi parari noluerunt'.

The genesis of the 'conquest'-myth.

It is obvious that the writer of those words was an Irish or Columban ecclesiastic with a strong feeling against the Pictish Church for its neglect of mass and 'preceptum' (see p. 176), and apparently also for restrictions put by it on Columban clergy within the Pictish dominion¹. He may have been the Irish monk of Abernethy to whom in the earlier part of the chronicle we owe the doubtfully honest, and certainly ridiculous, statement about Nectan's grant of Abernethy for a church of St. Bridgid in the presence of Darlugdach abess of Kildare (see p. 36). He probably wrote in the reign of Constantin the son of Aed (900-942) but before that king's 18th year (917); in his 35th year the chronicle was apparently being continued by another writer, perhaps a monk of Brechin, or of that part of Scotland, without visible Irish tendencies².

The chronicler's religious prejudices,

personality,

and date.

It is clear that after the reign of Brude the son of Vurad a leaf is lost from this particular chronicle. It doubtless gave the names of the three remaining claimants to the throne who preceded Kenneth. Secondly, it may have contained in this place the list of kings of the Scots (ending with Kenneth),

A leaf missing in the 'Pictish chronicle': its contents.

¹ In the early 8th cent. Nectan had driven them over the Dorsum Britanniae.

² My grounds are these. Under the reign of Constantin son of Kenneth we are told 'Primo ejus anno Mael seehraill rex Hiberniensium obiit; et Aed filius Niel tenuit regnum'. Under that of Eochodius, 'Cujus secundo anno Aed filius Neil moritur'. Under that of Constantin the son of Aed, 'Et in suo octavo anno cecidit excelcissimus rex Hiberniensium et archiepiscopus apud Laignechos .i. Cormace' [read Cormacc] 'filius Culennan. Et mortui sunt in tempore hujus Doneualdus rex Britannorum, et Duuenaldus filius Ede rex eligitur; et Flann filius Maelsethnaill et Niall filius Ede, qui regnavit tribus annis post Flann'. [I have corrected Skene's text, where necessary, by his facsimile. Irish annals date Niall's death 917-919.] Then follows '&c:' probably added by a later hand, doubtless the scribe who goes on with the 18th and subsequent years of Constantin, mentioning in the 35th the death of the Mormaer of Angus. From this point no deaths of Irishmen are recorded; 'ut dixi' is used, not 'ut diximus'; and the chronicle ends with the gift of Brechin to the Lord by Kenneth son of Malcolm, late in the 10th cent. .

found a few pages later in the same 14th cent. MS. (but with extension to 1165). Thirdly, it stated ('ut diximus') the 'deletion' of the Picts. This statement had in its closing sentence the name *Pictavia* or *terra Pictorum*. For it is obvious that the next one originally ran 'Kinadius igitur filius Alpini primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam annis xvi', where *istam* refers to a preceding geographical name; that *Pictaviam*, added after *xvi*, is a marginal explanation of *istam*; and that the reason for its being copied after *xvi* is that *xvi* was the last word before the margin in the text of the copyist's exemplar.

Based on
a poem in
elegiacs?

We look to the other chronicles to see whether we can find a statement such as we are in search of, terminating with a mention of 'Pictavia' or 'terra Pictorum'. And we find notices of Kenneth's reign ending 'Hic mira cal[1]iditate duxit Scotos de Ergadia in terra Pictorum' (151), 'Hic in ira' [= Hic mira] 'cal[1]iditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum' (174), 'Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Ergadia in terram Pictorum' (288). And, since 'primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam' is a metrically perfect hexameter¹, it looks as if the chroniclers may be quoting from monkish elegiacs² which ran

Kinadius: Scottos hic mira calliditate
Pictorum in terram duxit ab Ergadia.
Primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam
Annis octo bis.

The Hunt-
ingdon
chronicle.

But we have still to look for some statement which would justify the words 'quos, ut diximus, Cinadius deleuit'. Skene takes them to refer to the treachery of Scone: but it is difficult to believe that if the writer had ascribed Kenneth's triumph to so monstrous an act he would have gone on to ascribe it also to the will of God. In the Huntingdon chronicle printed by Skene (209) there is a passage which may be parallel to the missing statement. It tells us that in the 7th year of Kenneth's reign over the Scots, when Danish pirates had occupied the shores and had crushed the Picts with very great

¹ Moreover 'mira calliditate' is metrical both in rhythm and in style.

² Such a set of verses, though a good deal later, is printed by Skene (*Chronicles*, 177); it begins

Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kynetus
Filius Alpini, prelia multa gerens
Expulsis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis.

slaughter, 'in reliquos, Pictorum terminos transiens, arma vertit, et multis occisis fugere compulit, sicque Monarchiam totius Albanie, que nunc Scotia dicitur, p[rimus] Scottorum r[. . .] et in ea primo super Scottos regnavit. Qui anno xii^o. regni sui septies in una die cum Pictis congregitur multisque pertritis regnum sibi confirmat et regnavit xxviii. annis¹'. Chronological differences apart, this may be very much the account conveyed in the missing statement and summed up in 'quos, ut diximus, Cinadius delevit'.

However these things may be, the idea of the Picts—who (despite recent Scandinavian attacks) still occupied the land from the Forth to the Orkneys—being 'deleted' by their Dalriad subjects is too absurd for argument. Even the idea of their being conquered by these subjects could only be entertained on strong historical evidence. But the *weight* of the evidence is in exactly the contrary direction.

The late 10th cent. *Annales Cambrie* do not mention the 'conquest', but chronicle the death of 'Cemoyth' (i. e. Cenioyth—see p. 51) 'rex Pictorum'. Had the Picts been 'deleted', the title would be ridiculous: had they simply been conquered, we should expect the title 'rex Scottorum et Pictorum'. The title 'rex Pictorum' indicates that Kenneth's victory was that of a claimant to the Pictish throne.

The
Annales
Cambrie.

The early 11th cent. Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach give the succession of Dalriad princes, including the later Pictish princes; make Kenneth immediately follow (the Pictish king) Eoganan in this principality; and add 'ise cet righ ro gab righe Sgoinde, do Gaidelaib' (Skene, *Chronicles*, 21), i. e. 'he is the first king that took the kingdom of Scone, among the Gaidels'—but not a word of conquest.

The Syn-
chronisms
of Flann
Mainist-
reach.

The (11th cent.?) *Life of St. Cadroe* (*ib.* 108) says that the Choriscians of Asia Minor invaded Ireland in the time of Julius Caesar; found it occupied by the Picts; made conquests there; crossed the sea to Iona; settled along the river Rosis in Rossia; captured the cities Rigmonath and Bellethor 'a se procul positas'; and changed the name of the entire country from Choriscia to Scotia after a woman of former times named Scotta. Subsequently they were converted by Patrick!

The Life of
St. Cadroe.

¹ I have added a comma after 'reliquos' and put [. . .] for Skene's conjectural '[ex conquisivit]'. I should restore 'r[eccepit]'.

The Irish
Nennius.

A passage among the additions to the Irish translation of Nennius (*ib.* 32) represents the Gael of Dalriada as taking possession of Alba after the Cruithneach, and is followed by a poem in which the statement is repeated (*ib.* 44). Skene says (xxxiv) that this poem 'bears within it evidence of having been compiled not later than the end of the reign of Macbeth, in 1058'. The fact is that it speaks of 50 kings of the race of Echad, from Feargus 'co mac mbrigach mbkretach', and then says that there were 66 kings of them and that they possessed the kingdom of the Cruithneach. Todd, in the edition of the Irish Nennius, says 'perhaps we should read Mac Bethach'; but Macbeth was Macbethad son of Finnlach, and the final stanza at least must have been either added or altered 16 reigns later. See further p. 176.

The Duan
Albanach.

The late 11th cent. Duan Albanach (*ib.* 58) speaks of Cusantin as the last Pictish king—which is absurd. It then says that the children of Eatha after the Picts took possession of Alba after great wars; but the next stanza shows that the original settling of Dalriada is referred to. The Pictish princes of Dalriada are enumerated in the series of Dalriad kings exactly as if they were Scots, and of Kenneth mac Alpin all that is said is 'Thirty years, Cionaoith the hardy'.

The
Prophecy
of St.
Berchan.

The Prophecy of St. Berchan at the end of the 11th cent. alludes to Kenneth as the author of the treachery of Scone and as 'slaughtering Cruithnech' (*ib.* 84), but also describes his son, who reigned next but one after him, as 'herd of cowshed of cows of Cruithnech'—an obvious allusion to the fact that Amlaib, the Danish king of Dublin, was attacked and slain by him while carrying off captives from Pictavia. Here the Cruithnech are clearly regarded as owners of the soil a generation after Kenneth's accession.

A St.
Andrew's
chronicle.

A late 12th cent. chronicle written at St. Andrew's (*ib.* 151), already referred to by me for the 'mira calliditate' passage, says that Kenneth '16 annis super Scotos regnavit, destructis Pictis'. But it indirectly throws doubt on the Scone story by saying that Drust (the last of Kenneth's predecessors) 'occisus est apud Fertheviot, secundum quosdam Sconam a Scottis'.

Giraldus Cambrensis (*ib.* 165), in the early 13th cent., tells the story of all the Pictish magnates being treacherously destroyed by the Scots at a banquet, but represents the Scots as

allies of the Picts, does not mention Kenneth or Scone, and adds 'Sic itaque de duobus populis gens bellicosior et validior totaliter evanuit'—a *reductio ad absurdum* indeed!

The Annals of Innisfallen, 13th and 14th centt., mention Kenneth's death, as king of Alban (*ib.* 169)—but that is all. The Annals of Innisfallen.

I have already quoted a 'Cronicon elegiacum' of the late 13th cent. (*ib.* 177) which speaks of Kenneth as reigning 'expulsis Pictis', which can hardly mean anything more than 'expelled from the sovereignty'. For where could they go? A 'Cronicon elegiacum'.

The Legend of St. Andrew of which I have already discussed the Pictish place-names contains the words (*ib.* 188) 'Deleto igitur funditus Pictorum regno, et a Scotis occupato'. The Legend of St. Andrew. The Legend of St. Andrew. The Legend in its present form seems to be late 13th cent. .

A chronicle of the late 13th cent. in French (*ib.* 202) tells the story of the (Scone) treachery with the absurd addition that the Scots 'sent afterwards for such others as they wished, and slew them as they came, so that they did as they desired'. A French chronicle.

The statement of the Huntingdon chronicle (*ib.* 209), of about the same date, I have already quoted. It is that which speaks of Kenneth as defeating the Picts seven times in a day. The Huntingdon chronicle.

The Annals of Ulster, written in the 14th and 15th centuries, but largely compiled from earlier works now lost, only record the death of 'Cinaeth mac Alpin rex Pictorum' (*ib.* 361). The Annals of Ulster.

A Scottish chronicle of the late 15th cent. (*ib.* 383) says 'yir [there] fell ane discord betuyx ws and ye [the] Pechtis, and we warrayt on yamme [them] lang tymme, and put yamme out utralye [utterly] of ye land of Scotland, be oure king, Kenauthe Makalpynn'—but does not add where the expelled Picts went! A Scottish chronicle.

Finally, the Four Masters, writing in the 17th cent., but compiling from earlier chronicles, state under the year 835 that Kenneth asked the *toiseach* of Oirghiall (in Ireland) to Alba to strengthen the Dal-Riada, but have not a word about the conquest. The Four Masters.

Omitting a few verbatim copyings from one late chronicle into another, and formal histories from Fordun (late 14th cent.) downwards, I have now, I believe, given a fair summary of the external evidence on this subject¹. Every reader will be

¹ I have not included a passage, over which Skene has blundered extraordinarily, in the Legend of St. Adrian (*Chronicles*, 424). The Legend says that Adrian and

General character-istics of the evidence.

struck by three things. (1) That, whereas the supposed conquest is *a priori* almost incredible, the evidence for it is of the most unsubstantial nature. (2) That most of it is so late as to be absolutely worthless, the presumption being that one chronicle simply borrowed from another. (3) That the Irish annals absolutely ignore the 'conquest'. And yet the Irish were the annalists *par excellence* of those days, their annals have frequent references to wars of the Picts and of the Dalriad Scots, and it is against all reason to suppose that they would have passed over the conquest of the former by the latter (an Irish colony) in total silence.

Successors of Kenneth called 'rex Pictorum', 'King of Scots' and 'Scotland', are not Irish or Highland Gaelic terms.

The Ulster Annals, indeed, give to each of Kenneth's next 3 successors the title 'rex Pictorum'. And, if anyone asks how the title 'king of Scots' and the name 'Scotland' arose if the Picts were *not* conquered, the answer is very simple. In Irish and Highland Gaelic there is no such title or name: Scotland is *Alba*, its king is *ri Albain*, its inhabitants are *Albanaich*. It is only in English and other foreign languages that the change took place, and in those it probably arose from the use of a combined Latin title 'rex Pictorum et Scottorum'. In such a case *one* of the two names is pretty certain to disappear, and the question *which* needs not depend for its answer on considerations of political supremacy—witness the case of the names *England* and *English*. The Englishman is spoken of by the Welshman, the Highlander, and the Irishman as a *Saxon*. The kingdom of the Heptarchy which became supreme over the rest, and incorporated them, was not Angle but *Saxon*. And it is in the dialect of that kingdom that almost all the Anglo-Saxon literature which has come down to us was written. Yet the language and people came to be called English, not Saxon; the country England, not Saxony. In this case Latin usage probably determined the result, and Latin usage was probably influenced by a desire to distinguish between the Saxons in Britain and those on the continent. In the case also of 'Scotia', 'Scoti', and 'Scotica lingua', and their corre-

his 6606 (!) companions came 'ad orientales Scocie partes, que tunc a Pictis occupabantur' and that 'Hii viri, cum presule Adriano dilati regno Pictorum', dispersed in the kingdom of the Picts, 'plurima signa fecere populo'. Skene (clxi) writes 'These men, with their bishop Adrian, the Pictish kingdom being destroyed, *dilati regno Pictorum*, did many signs'! *Is a similar blunder at the bottom of the original deletion-myth?*

sponding equivalents in other foreign languages, Latin usage was probably the determining factor, and this usage was probably due to the desire of the Columban clergy to exalt their own race.

And the view of Kenneth's succession which, following (and I hope strengthening) Skene, I have urged in these pages derives important evidences from that very 10th cent. document which emanates from the anti-Pictish ecclesiastics.

Internal evidence of the 'Pictish chronicle'.

It tells us that Kenneth died in the palace at Forteviot. Forteviot was the city in which, according to the Legend of St. Andrew, the sons of the 8th cent. Pictish king Ungust had resided (Ungust himself being on an expedition in Argyll), and in which, according to one story, Kenneth's predecessor was killed.

Kenneth dies at Forteviot.

It tells us that he was succeeded by his brother Duuenaldus (Domhnall), in whose time 'jura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo in Fothiurthabaicth'. Here Forteviot is still the royal city, but the Goidels adopt the constitutional laws of Aed Finn, son of Eocha, a Dalriad king who died in 778, but who may also have been a Pictish prince¹ on his mother's side, as he reigned after the overthrow of the Dalriad Scots. Whether the Goedeli are the Scots only (if 'Goedeli'. so, why is not the writer's regular term Scotti employed?) or the Picts² and Scots, and whether in the former event the laws

His brother Domhnall succeeds.

¹ This is rather implied by the statement of the Annals of Ulster that in 768 there was a battle in Fortrenn between 'Aedh & Cinaedh'. Aedh had not been mentioned previously, and the natural inference of a reader would be that they were rivals for the sovereignty of Fortrenn.

² The Picts are called Gwyddyl Ffichti occasionally in Welsh literature (14th cent. and after ?): see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 36. And in the ridiculous romance of Mac Erca contained in the Book of Ballymote (Skene, *Chronicles*, 55) he is represented as having among his sons 'Constantin & Gaedheal Ficht', from whom the provincial kings of Britain and the kings of the Cornish Britons are said to be descended. For Guidal as name of a Pictish king see pp. 46, 49.

Of course in Flann Mainistreach's statement that Kenneth was the first king who took the kingdom of Scone among the Goidels we have a use of the term which excludes the Picts. But it is too commonly assumed that they are excluded from it in the name of Argyll. In the description of Albania contained in the same MS. with the 'Pictish chronicle', and compiled about 1155, we are told that 'Arregathel dicitur quasi Margo Scottorum seu Hibernensium, quia omnes Hibernenses et Scotti generaliter Gathelli dicuntur' (Skene, 136). But the early Latin forms Ergadia, Argadia, point to a stem *airgad*, *ergad*, or *argad*, with one of the *l* class of suffixes (see Zeuss-Ebel, 767-8). This I find in *h-airgeadh*, 'plundering, devastation' (see Highland Society's Dict.), and interpret 'the wasted district': cf. Tigernach, 'Aengus mac Fergus, rex Picctorum uastauit regiones Dail Riata'. The

in question were meant to apply only to Dalriada, we do not know. Skene suggests that among them was the law of Tanistry, and that it was in accordance with this that the succession was continued in the male and not in the female line (*Celtic Scotland*, I. 323).

Kenneth's
son Constantin
succeeds.

It tells us that the next king was Kenneth's son Constantin. The name Constantin speaks volumes. It is not found in Dalriada, nor yet in Ireland; but it was the name of a Pictish king who had reigned from 790 to 820. Since a Byzantine Constantine figures in the Legend of St. Andrew, it is probable that the name was introduced from that source, and it is possible that Kenneth gave it to his own son to propitiate the Pictish Church. But I strongly suspect that the child was so named because he was descended from his Pictish namesake. As the Pictish king apparently had a son who ruled Dalriada as early as 778, it is unlikely that he also had a daughter who was Kenneth's wife: but, if he had a daughter who was Alpin's wife and Kenneth's mother, we have an instant explanation of the Pictish wars of those princes. Alpin would be fighting for his son's maternal claim to the Pictish throne, and Kenneth for his own!

His name
gives a
possible
clue to
Kenneth's
descent.

Invasion of
Amlaib,
perhaps on
behalf of
a son of
his own.

It tells us that early in Constantin's reign 'Amlaib, cum gentibus suis,' wasted Pictavia, remained in it from Jan. 1 to Mar. 17, and in a following year was killed by Constantin 'trahens centum', i.e. while carrying off a train of 100 captives. Now Amlaib was Scandinavian king of Dublin, and according to the Annals of MacFirbis (173) his wife was Constantin's own sister (Skene, *Chronicles*, cxxxiv). And the doubt at once arises whether Amlaib's invasion of his brother-in-law's kingdom was not in support of a prior claim (under the old Pictish rule of succession through the mother) of a son of his own.

Aed
succeeds.

It tells us that the next king, 'Edus' (Aed), after one year's reign was killed in a city called Nnurim (?—only *ri* is quite certain). Other chronicles printed by Skene say that he was

connexion of *h-airgeadh* with *h-áirge*, *arge*, 'herd of sheep or cattle', is obvious. Probably they come from the roots '⟨p⟩arei bei, vor' (Stokes, 35), which gives Irish *áir*-, *ér*-, *ar*-, *ag treiben* (Stokes, 6): you drive a herd before you, and plundering was mainly cattle-driving. The lost vowel before the *g* is found again in such forms as *Arregaithil* (Skene, 136), *Erregaithle* (Ferguson, *Place-names of Scotland* from 'Old Ir. MS.'), and *Errogeil* (*ib.* as of the date 1147).

Constantin's brother, was killed 'a sociis suis' (362), or was killed in battle in Strathalun (Stirlingshire) by 'Grig' the son of Dungal (151).

It tells us that he was succeeded by Eochodius son of Run king of the Britons, and that Eochodius was nepos 'Cinadei ex filia'; that some say Ciricius was king, but that Ciricius was only his 'alumpnus ordinatorque'; that in the 9th year of the reign an eclipse of the sun took place 'in ipso die Cirici' i.e. on the day of Ciricius's name-saint; that both Eochodius and his 'alumpnus' were now expelled the kingdom; and that he was succeeded by 'Douiualdus' (i.e. 'Domnaldus' = Domhnall) son of Constantin. Here we have the old Pictish law of succession through a woman in full force. Eochodius's father is an alien, but his mother was Kenneth's daughter, and he succeeds before the son of Kenneth's son! This was not a Dalriad law of succession, and in the face of it what becomes of the theory of a Scottish conquest? Ciricius, of course, is the 'Grig' (Giric, p. 29) who slew the last king: we learn from other chronicles that he was killed by the men of Fortrenn, dying at Dundurn. He was buried at Iona, as the kings of Kenneth's house had been—either in imitation of precedent or because he was a Scot on his father's side. But, although his father's name was common among the Scots, it was also the name of a Briton who was Eochodius's great-grandfather; and it becomes practically certain that Ciric was Eochodius's grand-uncle and thus came to be his 'alumpnus' ¹ 'ordinatorque'. His own name was that of one of the sons of Cruithne—and of the saint (perhaps a Goidel) after whom the North Welsh village of Capel Curig is named—and it is possible that his mother also was a Pictish princess from whom he derived a prospect of succession to the Pictish throne. And, in spite of the very precise statement of our 10th cent. chronicle, every other list of Pictish kings contains 'Grig' and only one contains Eochodius! If such in the late 10th cent. was the confusion of chroniclers as to the reigns of kings who lived only 100 years earlier, what importance—in the face of all contrary probability—can be attached to their vague statements of the deletion of the Picts?

Finally our chronicle tells us that the next king was

¹ In Low Lat. *alumnus* means not only foster-son but foster-father.

Eochoid
succeeds,
with Ciric
as his
governor.

The Pictish
law of
succession
still
followed.

Constantin succeeds. Constantin—another Pictish name—the son of Edius (and so Kenneth's grandson in the male line); and that 'in vi. anno Constantinus rex et Cellachus episcopus leges disciplinasque fidei atque iura ecclesiarum ewangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in Colle Credulitatis prope regali civitati Sconan devoverunt custodir⁹'. (see Skene's text (9) and his facsimile). Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, I. 340) translates 'should be preserved entire and on a footing of equality with the Scots', and says that 'By this declaration the Pictish and Scottish churches were united in one', and that the hill was the Mote Hill. The rendering should be that the king and bishop equally with the Scots devoted the archives of the two churches to be kept 'in Colle Credulitatis'. The chronicle adds 'Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen i. Collis Credulitatis'. As there was a battle among the Picts in 727 or 728 'ac Caislen Credhi' (Tigernach) or 'juxta Castellum Credi' (Annals of Ulster), this origin of the name is very doubtful. And *Credulitatis* makes it seem possible that the story of the treachery at Scone is largely an invention designed to explain the same singular designation.

Possible origin of the 'treachery' legend.

Let me add some corroborative evidence from other chronicles.

Ciric and the Scottish church. In one compiled in the late 11th cent. (Skene, 151) we are told that 'Girg . . . primus dedit libertatem ecclesie Scoticane que sub servitute erat ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum'—a statement repeated in others (174, 178, 204, 288, 301, 305). Had there been either a 'deletion' or a 'conquest' of the Picts, it is absurd to suppose that such would have been the position of the Columban clergy for some 40 years after it.

The Picts in the Ulster Annals, after Kenneth's accession. The Ulster Annals, after giving the deaths in 857 and 861 of Kenneth and his brother, each being termed rex 'Pictorum', chronicle that of the abbat of Kildare and Ia in 864 'in regione Pictorum'; state that in 865 Scandinavians laid waste all *Cruithen-tuat* (= Pictavia) and took away hostages; speak under 870 of the return of Scandinavians to Dublin from Alba with a very great booty 'Anglorum et Britonum et Pictorum'—though this may refer only to Galloway Picts; and record under 874 'Congressio Pictorum fri Dubghallu,' [against the Danes] 'et strages magna Pictorum facta est'. It is quite plain that the Ulster Annals regard the military force of the kingdom as

Pictish, not Scottish, nearly a generation after Kenneth's accession. During that interval they do not even allude to the Scots, and when (after 878) the name 'Picts' *does* disappear from their pages its place is taken not by 'Scots' but by 'Alba', 'men of Alba', 'Albanaich'.

In concluding an appeal, which I trust has been successful, to the historic sense of my readers, I wish once more to refer to the curious parallels presented by the devolution of the crown in England. The Welshman Henry VII, claiming the throne through the female line, founded a dynasty which lasted more than a century. The Welsh dynasty was succeeded in 1603 by a Scotsman, James I, as a descendant of Henry's daughter. The Scottish dynasty was followed in 1714 by a German, George I, as a descendant of James's daughter, and his dynasty still reigns. Its first two kings were born in Germany; its first five kings married German wives; the queen who succeeded them had a German mother and married a German husband; while her son now reigning married a Danish wife. Not one drop of *British* blood can be found in his pedigree for nearly 200 years, nor of *English* blood for over 300: yet during that entire period England has been an independent nation, never for one moment under Welsh, or Scottish, or German domination. How then can we suppose it a sign of conquest that the Pictish crown, the title to which so largely depended on descent in the female line, should have eventually fallen to a Scottish dynasty? The only question in my own mind is whether, as suggested by M^cLennan (*Primitive marriage*, 129), the royal Pictish succession was not subject to a law of exogamy.

Similar history of the English crown.

Was the descent of the Pictish crown subject to a law of exogamy?

The Belgæ in Ireland. I return to Ireland. According to the Leabar Gabala, one of the peoples which invaded and colonized it was the Fir Bolg, 'Men of Pouches', and this name has already been connected by Zeuss with that of Bolgios (Pausanias) or Belgius (Trogus and Justin) a leader of Gauls against Macedon in the 3rd cent. B. C.. *Bolg* is admitted to be the same as *bulga*, a Gaulish word for a leathern bag, used by Latin writers: Holder (I. 629) calls it a Cisalpine Gaulish word, doubtless because it is found as early as Lucilius (who wrote

The Belgæ in Ireland (*Fir Bolg*).

both before and after B. C. 128). And the root is 'bhelgo-schwellen' (Fick, I. 493).

The bulga. The *bulga* seems to have been a pouch of skin, with the hair on, like a Highlander's *sporan*, only hanging from the arm, to which it was strapped (see the quotations in Holder). I suspect that the Goidels of N. Gaul were called Belgae, 'Pouches' (cf. in English 'Blue Bonnets'), or Fir Bolg, 'Pouchmen', from the practice of wearing the *bulga*.

Nennius, and the Irish translation of him. I cannot attempt to investigate everything said in Irish tradition about the Fir Bolg. But the following notes of some of the earliest statements will bear out my contention that they were Belgae.

The Chartres copy of the (7th cent. ?) chronicle of Filius Urbagen and others (which Nennius used) does not mention them. But Nennius himself (c. 796) does, saying (§ 14) 'Builc autem cum suis tenuit Euboniam insulam et alias circiter', where the Irish translator (late 11th c.) renders 'Builc cum suis' by 'Firbolg' and a plural verb. *Bolg* 'pouch' is also written *bolc*: its gen. sing. and nom. pl. would be *builg* or *builc*, and in modern Irish even the nom. sing. is so infected (*bolg* and *builg*); but Nennius's eponymous hero Builc seems to have arisen out of a misunderstood nom. pl. Builc = Bulgae or Fir Builc = Viri Bulgae. As to Eubonia, it is the Isle of Man, and we have already seen (1) that it was colonized by Menapians (who were Belgae), (2) that in the early 5th cent. it is said to be inhabited by tribes of Scots (i. e. Irish), and (3) that its vernacular is Gaelic to this day.

The 'Leabhar Gabhala'. The additions to the Irish Nennius join with the Fir Bolg the Fir Galeoin and Fir Domnann, and speak of Galeon as the son of Hercules, and of his progeny as occupying the Orkneys. O'Clery's edition of the *Leabhar Gabhala* I have not access to, but Lizeray and O'Dwyer's translation (41) says that the Gaileoin, Fir Bolg, and Fir Domnann came together and were 'une seule tribu et une seule race', for which the general name Fir Bolg is used. And the 12th cent. *Leabar Gabala* contained in the Book of Leinster (f. 7, 2) gives among the names of their 5 leaders Gand and Sengand (= Old Gand), with which one is tempted to compare the name of Ghent, Gand-avum.

Fir Domnann. Now the Fir Domnann are obviously the Damnonioi whom

Ptolemy found in Devon (Dumnonia), Cornwall, and South Central Scotland. That they were Kelts is practically certain from the names of their towns Isca (Devon) and Lindon (Scotland). That they were Goidels is probable from the fact that of the ogam-inscriptions found in Devon and Cornwall two (both Devonian) are certainly Goidelic (printed in Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh philology*, 401), as they have the *maq*-stem.

The Fir Galeoin, 'Men of Galeon', are simply Picts. An Irish ecclesiastic coming across Vergil's 'pictosque Gelonos' (G. II. 115) identified the Picts with the Scythian Geloni, who were said to be named from Gelonus, son of Hercules. Hence the story that the Picts, who colonized the Orkneys, were children of Geleon: see the passage in the Royal Irish Academy's Book of Lecan quoted by Skene (*Chronicles*, 323) 'Isin bliadin cetna sin tancatar Cruithnigh a tir Tracia, .i. clanna Geleoin mac Ercail iat . . . In the same year came the Cruithnigh from the land of Thrace, viz. the clan Geleoin son of Ercal they'. For 'the clan Geleoin' read 'children of Geleon'.

Of relations between the Picts of Albion and the Belgae there are several evidences. We have seen at least one Pictish king bearing the epithet Bolc or Bolg. There were also a Dunbulcc or Dunbulg, in Fife—now Dunbog; a Strathbolgyn in Aberdeenshire—now Strathbogie; and a Bolgyne in Fife, as well as 'Blatum Bulgium' in South Scotland (not known to have been in Pictish occupation, and of which Blatobulgium may be the right form). See also p. 177.

Relations between Picts of Albion and Belgae.

So that, as far as circumstantial evidence goes, Ireland was largely occupied by *p*-preserving Kelts, sometimes grouped together under the general name Fir Bolg (= Belgae) or sometimes distinguished as Fir Bolg, Dumnonians, and Picts.

The traditional division of Ireland among the Fir Bolg, Fir Domnann, and Fir Galeoin, was this.

The Fir Domnann took all the W. coast¹ above Limerick, the N. coast, and the E. coast down to the Boyne. That includes the country where the Irish Picts are found later. But the Dumnonii apparently arrived in Ireland even south of the Boyne; for Inbher Domhnann² is barely north of the Liffey.

Irish territory of the Dumnonii.

¹ Adamnan's Eirros Domno, later Iorrus Domhnann, now Erris in Co. Mayo, is supposed to be derived from them.

² Now Muldowney (Reeves's Adamnan, 31).

Irish territory of the Picts and Belgae.

The Fir Galeoin held S. E. Ireland, from the Boyne 'jusqu' au Confluent des Trois eaux', near Waterford¹; and the Fir Bolg from that point to Limerick, i. e. S. W. Ireland.

We have seen (p. 89) that according to the Life of St. Cadroe the Choriscii on reaching Ireland 'gentem Pictaneorum reperiunt'. Rhÿs (*Rhind lectures*, 54) has observed that they landed somewhere in the W. of Ireland, and took Cloyne on the Shannon; also (*ib.* 107) that 'Spike Island' in Cork harbour was once Inis Picht. These facts favour the statement that the Picts, Belgae, and Domnonians were a single race.

The Belgae in Irish place-names.

Of the Belgian occupation² there are many records in Irish place-names. Joyce (ser. 2, 192) amusingly says 'Why it is that places took their names from sacks or bags, it is not easy to determine, unless' sack-makers lived there or sacks were used there in large numbers! He mentions Dunbolg (Tigernach's Dun Bolc) in Co. Wicklow, Dunbulloge in Co. Cork, Caherbullog and Moherbullog in Co. Clare (all names of 'circular forts'), Moybolgue (Tigernach's *Mag bolg*) in Meath and Co. Cavan, Clonbulloge in King's County and Co. Carlow, and Killimorbologue in Co. Galway. See further p. 177.

Names of Pictish kings in Ireland.

Ollamh.

Ailill Ollfinnsnechta.

Findoll Cisirne.

Names of Pictish kings in Ireland. According to the Tract on the Picts printed by Skene at p. 318, 'Seven kings of the Cruitneach of Alban governed Erin in Teamhair', each of whom reigned 30 years³. The first was Ollamh: his name means Big-hand—from Ir. (*p*)oll, 'big' (Stokes, 53) and *ám*, 'hand' (Stokes, 16). The second was (Heilim *or*) Ailill Ollfinnsnechta—obviously the Olfinecta of p. 5, the Ollfinachta of p. 396, and the Finnechta of p. 324: Stokes (B. B.) takes Ailill 'From *Alpilli-s, cogn. with A. S. *ælf*'. Finsnechta, Finnshneachta, and Finnachta are common in Irish annals, and = Snowy-haired, from *find-*, *finn-*, 'hair', and *snechta* 'snow'; the *s* beginning the second element was always aspirated, *sh* was sounded as *h*, and so Finsn- became Finhn-, Finn-. The third was Findoll Cisirne: Findoll means Very-hairy

¹ I owe the identification to Prof. Kuno Meyer in *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV. 115. In verses quoted by Tigernach under 737 the Leinstermen are called Galian.

² Among the invaders of Ireland in those early days were the Fo-mor-aich, whose identity is a matter of dispute. I suggest that they may have been the Mōrī-nī, who occupied the coast of Gaul just S. of the Menapii.

³ But in § 247 of the *Cóir Anmann* (*Irische Texte*, III. 390) the 2nd, 4th, and 5th are represented as sons of the 1st.

(*finda* 'hair'), and Cisirne looks like *caisirne*, a word given by Windisch without explanation, but apparently connected by him with *casir*, 'hail' ¹. The fourth was Geithe Ollgothach: Geithe his first name (Geide, p. 396, Gede, p. 5) = Ir. 'gaide „pilatus“', Ollgothach. (Stokes, 104), his second = Big-voiced (Stokes, B. B.). The fifth was Slanoll, whose name seems a compound of *oll* and *slán* Slanoll. 'healthy' = 'Very hale'. The sixth was Bagag Ollfiacha: Bagag Ollfiacha. Bagag = Ir. *bágach* (Stokes, B. B.), i.e. 'Warlike', and Ollfiacha is a compound of *oll* and *fiacha*—on which latter see below. Last came Bearngal or (Stokes, B. B.) Berngal; Stokes Berngal. compares 'Ir. *bern* .i. calma no tren', and *gal* seems to = *gall*, 'cock' (Cormac), so that the name means 'Brave cock'.

I have come across four later kings in Reeves's ed. of Adamnan's life of Columba. Adamnan himself mentions Echodius Laib (I. 7) in a battle fought in 563. Laib, as Stokes (B. B.) and Holder take it, is allied to Latin *laevus*, and I presume that it means 'Lefthanded'. Echodius is, of course, the very common Irish name Eochaid. I suggest that it = Ech-odius i.e. 'horse-keeper', from *ekvo-s* 'horse' and **audi-* (Macbain, 320) which gives 'O. Ir. oid, óid, con-ói, servat' and Highland Gaelic *taidhe* (= *do aidhe*). This king is referred to in the Ulster Annals, in the genitive, as Echach (Stokes, B. B., 'mors Eugain mic Echach laibh')—Echach being an abbreviation of Echdach, as Eocha, Eochu, Eochu, of Eochaid.

Reeves mentions three more—Fiacha Araidhe (A.D. 236), Congal Claen (A.D. 572), and Dungal mac Scandail (A.D. 681).

Fiacha is a name found often in the early history of Ireland: for instance, Tigernach records a defeat of this very Fiacha by a Fiacha king of Munster. The dat. is Fiachaigh, so that the original form indicated is *Vicax*, from stem of 'vikô ich kämpfe' and 'ir. fích Kampf' (Stokes, 279). His surname may contain the stem 'aro- Ackerbau, Feldbau. ir. ar. Corm.' (Stokes, 16).

Congal and Dungal are both common Irish names (see the index to the Ulster Annals). *Con* = 'Hound', *Dun* probably = *Donn* 'Brown', cf. Donnghal. The *-gal* is, I believe, taken to = *gall*, 'stranger' (for which see Stokes, 108). Claen = Ir. *cléin*, *cláin* 'Wicked'. *Scandail* is gen. of *Scandal*, apparently 'Leaper', an adj. in *-al* (see Zeuss-Ebel, 768) from *scand-* 'to

¹ In § 254 of the *Cóir Anmann* (*Irische Texte*, III. 394) he is called 'Caisirni i. cisternaei' and is said to have been the first man who dug a *cistern*.

spring': see Stokes, 307, 'squendô ich springe . . . ir. scendim . . . Perf. Sg. 3 sescaind . . . lat. scando'. According to Tigernach, Feargus Scandal, king of Munster, died in 583, and one of the companions of Columba was named Scandal (Reeves, 245), while Scannal and the diminutive Scannlan are frequent in Irish annals. But Dungal's father may not have been a Pict.

In looking over Tigernach I come across the following additional names: my references are to Stokes's edition and translation in vol. XVII of the *Revue Celtique*.

Aed Brecc. (p. 145) In 557 (Four Masters) or 562 (Annals of Ulster) a battle took place in Ireland in which seven Pictish kings fell 'including Aed Brecc'. His name Aed ('Fire') and surname Brecc ('Mottled') are equally common in Irish nomenclature.

Mael Cáich. (p. 180) In 624 (FM) or 628 (AU) a battle took place in which 'Mael caith mac Scandail, rex Cruithniu, uictor erat . . . Dicull mac Eachach rí ceneoil Cruithne cecidit'. Here Mael is the word so common in Irish proper names, especially with a genitive after it, meaning 'Bald' = 'Tonsured' = 'Servant'. This king died in 665 and is there called 'Mael cáich mac Scandlain, rí Cruithne' (p. 199): the Four Masters call him Maolcaioch son of Scannal, and also mention a Maelcaech under 779. The entire name seems to mean One-eyed Tonsured-one—cf. 'kaiko-s einäugig. ir. caech, coech' (Stokes, 65). Dicul and Dichuill occur in the Four Masters.

Lochene. (p. 187) In 642 (FM) or 644 (AU) 'Lochene mac Fingen Rí Cruithne mortuus est'. Lochene = Lake-dweller, just as Sleibine = Mountain-dweller. The Ulster Annals call him 'mac Fingin'. Fingin is only a variety of Finngüne (see p. 62), a name given by Tigernach (Stokes, B. B.) as Findgaine.

Eochaidh Iarlaithe. (p. 199) In 665 'Eochaidh Iarlaithe, rí Cruithne Midhi' (of Meath) died. In the Annals of Ulster he is called Eocha Iarlaithi. Rhys (*Rhind lectures*, 54) says that 'his name, Iarlaith, meant either Ivernian prince or else prince of Ivernians', doubtless taking *laith* as = (*fh*)*laith*, which is natural enough¹; but *iar* needs only be the Irish *iar* 'West'—'Lord of the West'. The correct form is Iarla(i)the; but the *-laithe* may represent an earlier *vlaitios*—'He of the western lordship'.

Cathussach. (p. 207) In 680 (FM) or 681 (AU) 'Cathussach mac Maile duín, rí Cruithne', fell. The name is elsewhere spelt with *as*

¹ See instances in Zeuss-Ebel, 55^b.

or *us* instead of *uss*: in the Four Masters there are 21 uses of it, 14 with *as*, 7 with *us*. It is the later '*cathaiseach*, adj., vigilant' (O'Reilly), derived from *cathais*, 'a guard . . . watching' (id.).

In running my eye over some of Prof. Rhys's books I come across the following in addition.

(1) *Miliuc mocu Buain*, who bought Patrick (*The Welsh people*, Miliuc. 52) = Miliucc mach Ua Buain (Windisch, *Worterb.*). His name has gen. Milcon, acc. Milcoin (Stokes, in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XI. 91), and is equivalent to Ir. *milchu* 'greyhound': for it is also given as Milcu, Milchu, and we have Glaisiuc (for which Stokes postulates a gen. Glascon) and genitives Eidlicon, Uiscon (for which he postulates nom. Eidliuc, Uisiuc), and Glascon = 'Gray hound', Uiscon = 'Obedient hound'. His ancestor's name Buan = 'Good' (see Stokes, 163).

(2) *Cú Cuaran*, 'in Latin Canis Cuaran, king of Picts and Cú Cuaran. Ultonians, whose obit is to be found under the year 706. Cú Cuaran means ¹ Cuaran's Hound, as to which one has to add that Cuaran occurs as the name of a Munster saint' (*Rhind lectures*, 32).

Finally, in Skene's extracts from the Ulster Annals are the following, in spelling which I have, however, followed Hennessy's text.

(726) 'Dubdainber mac Congalaigh rex Cruitne jugulatus Dub-
est'. Dubdainber = 'Black (mod. *Duff*) of (the) two estuaries'.
His father's name = 'Brave hound', the second element being
an adj. from *gal*, 'bravery'.

(773) 'Flathruae mac Fiachrach rex Cruitne moritur'. Flathruae.
Flathruae = 'Lord of the plain', from Highland Gaelic
flath 'lord' (cf. Ir. *flaith*) and Ir. *róe* 'plain'. For his father's
name see pp. 51 (under *Fecir*), 173.

The Scots. The Scots were later colonists—partly at The Scots,
least Asturians (see pp. 45-7), and said to be connected with from Spain.
Brigantium in Gallaecia. That there were *p*-preserving Goidels *P*-preserv-
in Spain is suggested to me by a passage of Dioscorides, ing Goidels
who says that the *Ἰσπανοί* call a certain plant *κιουτουκαπετά*. *κιουτου-*
Diefenbach (*Orig. Eur.* 299) says this is borrowed² from *καπετά*.

¹ But there was also an Irish Dane of the 10th cent. named Anlaf Cuaran (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 456) and the surname may denote the use by him of a particular kind of foot-covering: see Macbain under 'cuaran, a brogue, sock'.

² Dioscorides (*De mat. med.* III. § 21 (24)) gives the *Roman* name as *καπίτουλον*

κιοτου
Goidelic?

centumcapita (Pliny, XXII. 8 § 9), but why should the Spaniards change κεντουμ to κιοτου? And, given that κιοτου is Keltic, it is Goidelic, for O. Irish has *cét*, Mod. Ir. and Highland Gaelic *ceud*, and Manx *keead*—whereas the Kymric languages preserve the nasal.

The cap-
stem.

And there are apparent Keltic analogues to καπετά. Holder queries Capillati as Ligurian: it is a name for peoples described as 'Inalpini' or 'ad confinium Ligustici maris' or 'Alpium incolis'; the Maritime Alps were inhabited by Ligurians called in Greek Κόμηται, and Capillati may be merely a Latin equivalent, but I submit that Irish *caille* 'veil' = *ca(p)illia*, and we have the proper name Capillus near Orleans, and Capilliaceum (from *Capillius) near Epernay. If there was a Keltic stem *capill* = Lat. *capill*-, of course it is from the same Ind.-Eur. root seen in *caput*: cf. the names ΚΑΠΙΤΟΣ,

Ir. *caille* =
ca(p)illia.

cappa.

Capitus, in Holder. Holder also queries 'cäppa' '*eine art kopfbedeckung*' as Keltic: it is first found in Gregory of Tours and Isidore of Seville, and may = *capna*.

2 Romano-
Keltic
stones in
Estrema-
dura.

Lastly, see various non-Latin *p*-words in nos. 738-9 in vol. II of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. They are at Arroyo del Puerco in Estremadura, within the limits of ancient Lusitania. They are either boundary-stones or guide-stones. Both have *indi* (cf. Lat. *inde*, *indi-dem*) and place-names (chiefly accusatives of direction in *-m*). 738 begins *Ambatus scripsi carlae praisom*, 'I Ambatus have written—I am mayor of Carla' (cf. Spanish place-name *Carula* in Holder, and Lat. *praesum*). It also has *praesondo*, 'in-front-of this'—cf. Sequanian *sonno*, p. 124. And see further the *p*-names of the Portuguese stone, no. 416. I regret not having had time to investigate all three stones fully.

P in the
Irish ogam-
inscrip-
tions.

P in the Irish ogam-inscriptions. When I mentioned Ptolemy's Manapia to Prof. Rhÿs, he at once said that there were *p*-names among the Irish ogams. As there was no collection of these at once trustworthy and complete, and Prof. Rhÿs himself had investigated a great many of them, I asked him to tell me where to find the *p*-names. He referred me to the following instances¹ quoted by him in

κάρδους. Pliny was a later writer and had been Procurator in Spain: it is possible that the Romans of his day had borrowed the Spanish name.

¹ These inscriptions with the exception of the second had been given by the

the *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXXII.
364:—

1. Broinienas poi Netattrenalugos (*Ballintaggart, co. Cork*)
2. Iacinipoi maqui Mo[coi (*Donard, co. Wicklow*)
3. Labbipoi maqqi Muccoi Bria (*Legan Castle, co. Kilkenny*)
4. Corbipoi maqui Labriatt . . . (*Ballyboodan, „ „*)
5. Nettalminaccapoi maqqi Mucoi Do[v . .
(*Ballintaggart, co. Kerry*)

By common consent *poi* is a separate word in all these cases. *poi*. It is obviously a gen. sing. masculine, in apposition with a preceding masculine proper name in the genitive, and governing another such name which follows it. It is indeed the gen. of the *pau-*, *po-* stem which gives Ir. *haue*, *hóa*, *óa*, *úa*, *ó*, *ú*, 'grandson', from the W. European stem 'pavo- wenig' (Fick, I. 470) with which are connected Gr. *παῦς*, *ποῦς*, *παῖς*, Lat. *puer*, Pictavian *poura*, 'maiden'. See also p. 178.

In nos. 1, 3-5 the *p* is expressed by an x across the stem-line. I entirely agree with Prof. Rhŷs that this sign is a *p*. That it should be a *k*, as some have argued, is out of the question, because the ordinary ogam-alphabet has signs for both the *c* (i.e. *k*) and the *q* sounds, and this special sign would have to be explained either as a palatalized or as an aspirated *k*: palatalization, however, would not be found before *o*, and aspiration is very unlikely, since the x appears both in the middle and at the end of proper names of the ogam period, e.g. *Iaripi*, *Dinisp*. Moreover, we have already met with this sign in the Shevack stone (p. 75), where it precedes what appears to be a case of this very word. And, finally, in no. 2 the sign is not x, but is *Λ* below the stem-line, a sign found on the bilingual ogam-stone at Cynffig¹ in S. Wales as = the two *p*'s in *Punpeius* (Pompeius).

It should be added that on another bilingual stone at Crickhowel¹ in S. Wales x below the line = *p* in *Turpilli*. The probable origin of both these forms is illustrated by the fact that in the late *fancy* ogam-alphabets of the Book of

Rev. E. Barry in the *Journal of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland* for Dec. 1895 and July 1896. In 3. the first *a* is said by Barry to have a second notch, which makes it *o*.

¹ See Brash (pl. 42) and Rhŷs (*l. c.* and *Lectures on Welsh philology*).

Ballymote they are found as varieties of *b*. But the \times across the line in the 5 inscriptions before us may be meant as a variation of *m*, since it = two *m*'s crossed.

avi =
(*p*)*avi*,
presumably
later than
poi.

Besides *poi*, another form of the same genitive, but with the *p* lost, occurs in at least 6 Irish ogam-inscriptions (Macalister, *Irish epigraphy*, I. 7): it is *avi* or *avvi*. That this is later than *poi* is suggested by the fact that a stone containing it has an inscription, apparently relating to the same person, in excellent Latin characters¹: in other words *avi* is presumably post-Christian (whether prae-Christian or not), but there is no evidence that *poi* is post-Christian. See further p. 178.

Going through Brash's work on ogams (1879), the Journal (since that date) of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland, and Macalister's 'Studies in Irish epigraphy' I (1897) and II (1902), I find the following Irish names containing *p*.

Toicapi.

Toicapi (B. 232 & pl. 32, J. 1892, 168, M. I. 18, II. 89) is on a lintel in an underground chamber at Dunloe. The entire inscription is *Dego maqi mocoï Toicapi*: the precise meaning of *moco* (a word of various forms) is not determined, but it certainly expresses descent from a person whose name always follows it, and the *Toicapo(s)* in question probably lived at least 3 generations earlier than the time when his name was cut². The first part of this name appears to be ³*toic* = 'toig angenehm' (Stokes, 121): the latter may = 'apâs . . . wirkend' (Fick, I. 173) found in Sansk. *svâpas*, cf. Latin *opus* and ? *apis* 'bee'; and the entire name would then mean 'Worker of pleasant things (? jeweller ? toymaker)'. The important fact, however, is that another lintel-stone *further from the entrance* has *Maqi Riteas Maqi Maqi Ddumileas Mucoï Toicaci* (i.e. 'Of the son of Ritis' (a woman?), 'also son's son of Dumilis' (likewise a woman?) 'a descendant of Toicaco(s)'), while a third lintel-stone *still*

¹ A stone in a cemetery at Colbinstown, co. Kildare. The ogams = *Ovanos avi Ivacattos*, the Latin letters IVVENE DRVIDES. Here Ovanos is a gen. from '*joven- jung' (Stokes, 224) and = Lat. *Iuvenis*: for the dropping of the *s* in the latter as a Latin word cf. the genitives in the British vol. of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* MAIORI, MARONI, VITALI, and in Irish ogams genitives in *-as*, *-a*, and *-os*, *-o* are found side by side. For *e* instead of *i* in 'Iuvene druides' cf. Lindsay, *Lat. lang.* 29, 'The misspellings on inscriptions testify abundantly to the close relation between *i* and *e*'.

² Which was probably after the introduction of Christianity, as there is a small cross on the stone.

³ For *-c* = hard *-g* see Zeuss-Ebel, 58^b.

further inside has *Maqi Ttal Maqi Vorgos Maqi Mocoli Toicac*. Here we have a man presumably two generations later than Deg-, who writes not *Toicapi* (nor the intermediate *Toicaci*) but *Toicac*: so that, while *p* between *u* and *e* had been lost (in Vorgos = Upergustus), *p* ending a stem was changed to *c*¹.

It is to Prof. Rhŷs that I owe the knowledge that the *Dinisp.* Dinisp stone (B. 131 & pl. 10, fig. 1) is now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford (where I have examined it), and that this name also has had its final *p* changed to *c*, in the compound name Cu Dhŷnesc, i.e. 'Hound (follower) of Dinasc', whose death is recorded by the annalists about 708. The nominative was apparently *Dinasp*, -asc. I cannot tell its meaning—for I do not know the derivation of ἀσπίς 'shield', ἀσπερ 'rough', or the name of the Sutherland mountain Canisp²; but *dln* in Irish = 'protection', and it is tempting to guess 'Shield of protection' and to conjecture that Irish *asca-d-* 'hero, enemy, rival' may also show the ἀσπίδ- stem with mutation of *sp* to *sc*. Dinasp may be the very man from whom Cu Dhŷnesc was named; for the form Dinisp (genitive), instead of Dinasp, shows the ogams to be comparatively late.

Apevritti (B. 201) is the entire inscription on a cemetery-*Apevritti.* stone. It looks at first sight like a single word compounded with the preposition *ape* (= ἐπι) found in Pictavian. But *vritti* or *evritti* is not easily equated, whereas Ritti is a well-known name in Irish ogams (see Brash), which appears later as Rith (Rhŷs, 366). Consequently one is tempted to divide *a pev Ritti* = *a paibh Ritti* 'e nepotibus Ritti', 'one of Ritt's grandsons'. We have had this same *pev* in the St. Vigean's inscription (p. 74), and evidence for the gen. sing. *pai* as well as *poi* in Irish ogams may be found in a Roovesmore inscription (B. 149 & pl. 13, fig. 1) which seems to be 'Anavlammatias Mucoi Cari³ Pai Tair . . . '.

'*Apilogdo*' (B. 187 & pl. 24, J. 1902, 31, M. 25) is on a 'Apilogdo'. graveyard-stone bearing a large cross within a circle: it is a genitive preceded by *Maqi Maqi(i)*. But it is doubtful

¹ This change is well known at the beginning or in the middle of words borrowed from Latin (e.g. *casc* < *pascha*): see Zeuss-Ebel, 66^b. I suggest that the *c* < *ch* < *h* < *f* < *p*: compare O. Ir. *secht n-* and *secht* = Lat. *septem*.

² *Can* may = 'head', as in *Cantyre*.

³ Brash's plate gives *Care* and *Paon*, but the edge of the stone is in a bad state. *Cari* only requires an extra stroke, and *Pai* only IIIII instead of II III.

in which direction the ogams are to be read, and in any case Prof. Rhŷs (in J.) has found additional strokes which show that the reading 'Apilogdo' must be abandoned.

Lapacc... *Lapacc* . . . (B. 260 & pl. 37) is part of the inscription *Collabot Mucoi Lo . . . g . . . Maq(i) Lapacc (Ma)q(i)*; but there may be strokes missing which would turn the L into V, S, or N.

Mapini. *Mapini* (B. 190 & pl. 19, J. 1902, 24, & 1903, 117). The entire inscription is *Gosocteas mosac Mapini* i. e. 'of Gosoctis, mosac of Mapin(i)o(s)', where *mosac* (i. e. *mosag*) apparently = 'offspring', from the *mesgh-* root whence Gr. μῶσχος, 'shoot, twig, boy, girl'. A Mapinius was bishop of Reims in the 6th cent. .

Erpenn. *Erpenn*, Prof. Rhŷs's and Mr. Macalister's reading for the Erpenan of Brash (241 & pl. 23), seems gen. of a stem Eribnd, for in 1886 Stokes (Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, XI. 90) put 'heirp (deer)' under 'Stems in nd (nn)', quoting gen. sing. 'erbbad (leg. *erbband*?)' and 'n. pl. *herbind*'. A form Erip is found in 'Necton filius Erip' (Skene, 6) or '... mac Erip' (Skene, 28), who became king of the Picts about 460; and the syncopated Erp is found in 'Drust filius Erp' (Skene, 6) or 'Drust mac Erp' (Skene, 28) who became king of the Picts about 415. See further p. 178.

In this name the *p* appears to represent not Ind.-Eur. *p* but Ind.-Eur. *bh* passing into Keltic *b*. It seems to come from *eribh-, whence Gr. ἐριφος, O. Ir. *heirp* ('dama, capreola'), later Ir. and Highland Gaelic *earb*: see Fick, Stokes, and Prellwitz. Traces of the *b* are found in Pictish in 'Drust filius Irb' (Skene, 172), who is called 'Drust filius Erp' (Skene, 6), and in 'Hyhatnouhten Machehirb, quæ tellus nunc dicitur Hadnachten' (see above, pp. 39, 41), i. e. Hy Hatnouhten Mac He(h)irb or Mach¹ E(h)irb. Sibbald read Machchirb (pp. 16, 68).

Iaripi. *Iaripi* (B. 201 & pl. 23) looks like a mutation of Ēripi², and I find that Prof. Rhŷs has anticipated me in suspecting it to be the same name as Erp. According, however, to the derivation of the latter which I have given above, the *e* is

¹ For in the Register of the priory of St. Andrew's Mac is often written Mach.

² For ē becoming *ia* in Old Goidelic before a following *i* cf. Pictavian *cialli*.

naturally short, and would not produce *ia* unless it had previously been lengthened. Can the *eribh- stem be really *yeribh-, and is the initial spirant, which normally disappears in Irish, represented by *I* of *Iaripi* and *h* of *heirp*?

3 Irish words beginning with *P*. I must leave to Irish ^{3 Irish words beginning with *p*:} scholars the discussion of possible traces of Ind.-Eur. *p* in literary Irish: but I venture to call attention to the following words contained in Cormac's glossary (1, 2) and the additions to it in the Yellow book of Lecan (3).

1. *Patu*, 'hare', the nom. of a *patan*- stem, the gen. being *patu*, *patan* and the adj. *patnide*. Does it come from Stokes's '(p)atano- Schwinge, (p)atanáko-s geflügelt' (27) which gives Welsh 'atan „penna“' and Breton *atanoc* 'winged' (*ib.*), the name being given to the hare on account of its swiftness? Cf. the metaphorical uses of Lat. *volare*, and Eng. *fly*. But why should the *p* have persisted to the present day? Despite the proverbial timidity of hares, they are extremely combative at times among themselves, and just possibly the *p* may be a degraded *b* from 'bāt schlagen, erschlagen' (for which see Stokes, 159)—though I cannot think that derivation likely.

2. *Párn*, 'whale' (?). This is the name of a *bloach* of the *párn*, sea: in later Irish *bloach* means a whale, and Stokes queries that meaning here. Cormac goes on 'Now not every syllable attains a meaning'—O'Donovan rendered 'It is not every two kinds that are similarly named'—'let no one therefore wonder though he knows not whence *bloach* applies to the *párn*'. Is it possible that *párn* is the swordfish, 'the piercer', from the *per*-, *par*- stem which gives in Greek 'περόνη Spitze, Stachel, Spange, περονάω durchstechen' (Prellwitz)? But why did the *p* last to Cormac's time? Was it a Pictish word?

3. *Púr*, 'a privy' (?). This is glossed 'quasi purus'. If *púr*, there is anything in the derivation, it may be added that the *púr*- stem is not only Latin but Goidelic, being found in Pictavian *pura* ('o pure one' (fem.)). This stem is the -four of Scottish place-names, e.g. Pitfour, Balfour, Delfour, Letterfour, Trinafour,—for of course *p* would become *ph* (= *f*) when beginning the second member of such compounds: cf. Lat. *purus* -a -um as epithet of *ager*, *campus*, *humus*, *terra*, *solum*, and the English 'clean' and 'virgin' as epithets of land.

The nomenclature of the Keltic languages, 'Goidelic' or 'Gadelic' to be retained.

The nomenclature of the Keltic languages. I have now to offer a few suggestions as to the names to be given for the immediate future to the two main divisions of ancient Keltic.

The *p*-preserving family should still be called Goidelic or Gadelic, the dialects being differentiated by the names of the tribes speaking them, as Pictavian, Sequanian, Belgic, Menapiian, proto-Irish, proto-Pictish. The most ancient *literary* Irish, in which the *p* has been lost, would remain 'Old Irish', and the corresponding stage of Pictish would be 'Old Pictish'. 'Middle Pictish' would cover the same period as 'Middle Irish', and for Neo-Pictish 'Highland Gaelic' may of course continue to be used.

'Brythonic' an unsafe term.

Whether we should retain the recently invented term 'Brythonic' for the other family is far more doubtful. If the original Brittones or Brittani were Belgic Goidels (see p. 25—and apparently the great majority of the tribes inhabiting Roman Britain were Goidels also), to apply the term Brythonic to the *non*-Goidelic family would be misleading. It would be equally so if the name were a mutation from the *Pr̥t*-stem, since the *Pr̥tanoi* (for *Qrtanoi*) were certainly Goidels. I have therefore used throughout these studies the term Kymric instead. There is no doubt what type (*Cymraeg*) is spoken by the Welsh (*Cymry*) in Wales (*Cymru*).

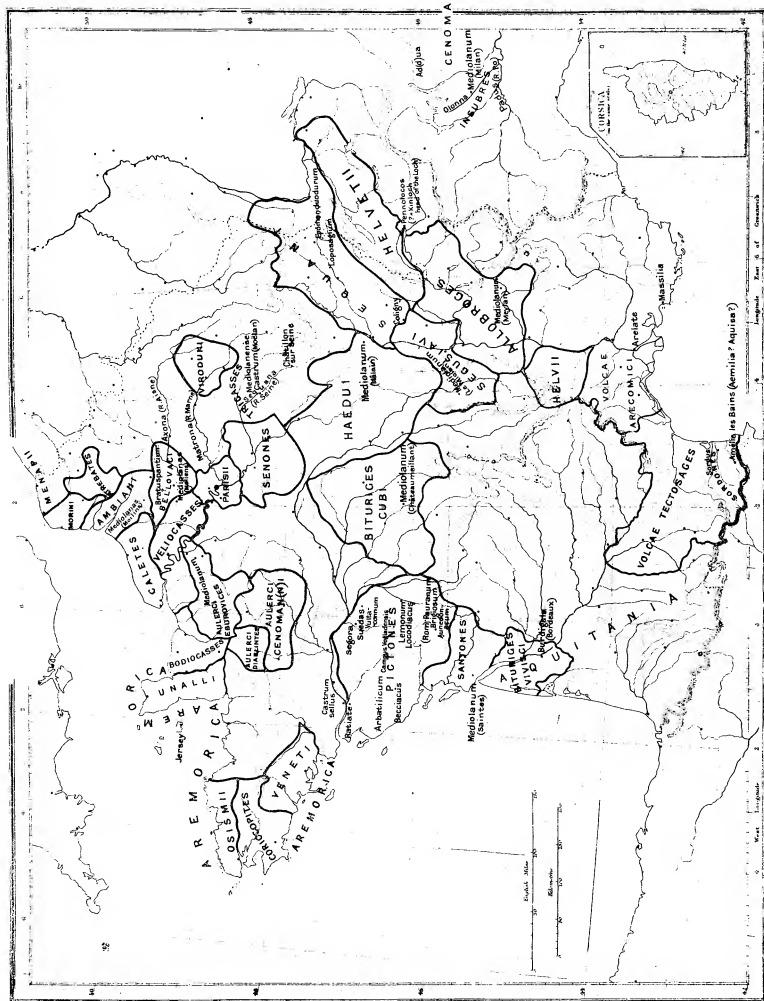
'Kymric' is preferable.

National priority in Britain.

National priority in Britain. Finally, a few words on the question of the relative priority of Kymry and Goidels in Britain. We know from Caesar that there were in his time inhabitants of the interior who claimed to be born in the isle itself: 'Brittanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab iis qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierant' (*B. G.* v. 12 § 1). We know now that the Belgic invaders were largely or wholly Goidels. The inference is that the earlier inhabitants spoken of by Caesar were Kymry, and the only certainly Kymric geographical name¹ I see on the map of

¹ As to the V(p)o- and V(p)er-names, which I once regarded as certainly Kymric on account of the lost *p*, I no longer do so for reasons given on p. 31. They are Voreda (Cumberland), Vernemetum (Nottinghamshire?) and Verlucio (Wiltshire). Verterae (Westmoreland) and Verulamium (Hertfordshire) probably do not come from the *u(p)er* stem (Stokes, 272), and I believe Viroconium (Shropshire) to be named from a man Virocon-, 'Male hound'—cf. (in the *Annales Cambrie*) Gwrci, who died in 580.

Roman Britain, Pennocrucium in Staffordshire, is in the heart of England. But Caesar does not use the word 'aborigines', and it is not necessary to suppose him to refer to any generation older than the earliest still living. The Belgian invasion may have been of later date than that: in II. 4 § 7 he says that the Suessiones, who were Belgians, had '*nostra etiam memoria*' a king Deviciacus, 'totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium optinuerit'. Whether the Kymry incorporated non-Keltic aborigines who influenced their language or physique is a question outside the range of this volume. But of one thing I am confident—that (on the data at present available) the current theory as to the relative priority of the Goidelic and Kymric races in Britain must be reversed. It was apparently *not* the Goidels who came first, and the Kymry who followed and drove them to the W. coast and to Ireland. It was apparently the Kymry who came first to Britain, and the Goidels who followed and drove them into the interior. I speak of course, of prae-Roman times: of the later Kymric recovery and victory in Wales and some other parts there is no manner of doubt.



CENOMANI
Verona

APPENDIX I

On an Old Goidelic (Biturigan) charm in Marcellus of Bordeaux

The particular charm in which Pictet (Grimm, *Kleinere Pictet's*
Schriften, II. 167) showed Indo-European *p* in the combination demonstration.
pr is as follows:—

‘Omnia quae haeserint faucibus hoc carmen expellet. Text of the
Heilen prosaggeri nome sipolla na buliet onodieni iden eliton. charm.
hoc ter dices et ad singula expues’, i.e. ‘All things that have
stuck in the throat this charm will expel . . . This you will
say thrice and will spit out at each’.

The right division and translation are as follows:—

Hei len! prosag geri uo me! si polla na buliet! onodieni
idene lito!

Division
and trans-
lation.

Be yielding! come forth quickly (*lit.* sharply) from me:
may it not hurt (swell?) much! very speedily, O-pains, flee
(*lit.* flow).

Hei (= Lat. *ī*) is the imperative of *eimi* or *eio*, from which in
Pictavian we have the participle *heiont* in *eti-heiont* ‘ever-con-
tinuing’, and *poura heiont* ‘maiden continual’. The original
meaning is ‘go’ (Stokes, 25¹), hence ‘continue’, ‘be always’,
‘be’, which last sense appears in Welsh (e.g. *wyf* ‘I am’, *ynt*
‘they are’, *ib.*). If my former explanation of *h* in the Pict-
avian form, as intended to avoid hiatus, is correct, that use
must have become extended, as there was no hiatus to be
avoided in the present instance.

len is from the stem ‘leinos gelind, mild’ (Stokes, 248),
whence ‘ir. lian . . . sanft’ (*ib.*): Latin *lenis* is probably related.

prosag is the imperative of the Irish verb (*p*) ‘*rosagim* ich Indo-
erreiche, reiche’ (Windisch): cf. ‘*sagim* . . . ich gehe hinzu’ European
(*ib.*), *saigim*, glossed ‘adeo’ (Zeuss-Ebel, 429). Pictet’s palmary *p*.
explanation is ‘Prosag est un impératif composé du préfixe
pro et de *sag* = irlandais *saighim*, je viens, *saighsiot*, ils vinrent

¹ And cf. ‘*bâ, *bê gehen, sein’ (*id.* 159).

etc.', but the law of dropped *p* in Irish was not then established beyond dispute, and Pictet supposed *pro* to appear in Irish not as *ro* but as *for*.

'geri', says Pictet, 'est sûrement l'irlandais *géir, géar, géur*, anciennement *gér*, aigu tranchant, vif, prompt. Le sens est ici adverbial'.

'uome', says Pictet, 'est l'irlandais *uaim*, ex me'. *Uo* (Ir. *ó, ua*) = Sansk. *áva*, Lat. *au-* (Stokes, 22).

si = Lat. *si* both in its form and in its use to express a wish —cf. Persius, II. 9-10, 'O si ebulliat patruus'.

polla = Gr. *πολλά* in form, accident (neut. pl.), and syntactic use (as adverb). The *p* is Indo-European, and the Celtic stem is '⟨p⟩ollo-s gross', appearing in 'Gaulish' as *Ollo-*, and in Irish as *oll*, comparative *huilliu* (Stokes, 52-3).

na is Ir. *na*, not (and so Pictet implies).

buliet is connected by Pictet with Ir. *buailim* 'I strike' and *buille* 'blow': an older form of the first is *búalaim*. Stokes postulates as the origin of *buille* a primitive 'boldjá Schlag' (178), and composes Lithuanian 'béldžu klopfe', but Macbain rejects this and gives 'E. Ir. *bulle, buille* = *bolliā* = *busliā* = *bhud-s-liā*, root *bhud*, beat' (51). The derivation of Lat. *bullā* (*bullare, bullire*) seems equally uncertain. The idea of *buille* 'blow' may be derived from that of swelling (*bullā*), and, as Lat. *ll* sometimes represents *ld*, (Lindsay, *Lat. language*, 275), this would favour Stokes's derivation.

Pictet was wrong in taking *buliet* for 3rd pers. pl. instead of 3rd pers. sing. .

onodieni is the dat. or abl. (instrum. ?), used adverbially, of an adj. *onodienis*, 'very swift', of which the latter part = Ir. *dían*, 'swift', the *e* in *dieni(s)* being *umlaut* of the following *i*. The *ono-* = the middle Ir. intensive praeform *an-*, for which Stokes postulates original Keltic *ana-* (13), but apparently this is the same as Fick's West-European 'ono: ona praeform. und praeform „auf, An“' (367) under which he quotes Aeolic *ὀνδ, ὀν* = Gr. *ὀνδ*.

idene is apparently voc. pl. of the word which appears in Irish as *idu*, 'pain', with gen. *idan* (Stokes, 46), nom. pl. *idain*, gen. pl. *idan*, acc. pl. *idna*. Stokes gives the original Keltic as '⟨p⟩idôn, gen. ⟨p⟩idenos' and takes it to have meant 'birth-pain', connecting it with Gothic *fītan*, 'to bring forth'. The

absence of *p* in the charm before us is fatal to this connexion, and the root may be **id*, to burn (see Stokes, 45).

liton is apparently 2nd pers. pl. imperative from **lī* *fiessen* (Stokes, 248). For the ending cf. the ending *-tana* of the same case in Vedic Sanskrit (Brugmann, *Comp. gr., Eng. tr.*, IV. 541).

Bordeaux and its region were occupied by the Bituriges Vivisci. Other Bituriges, B. Cubi, occupied Bourges (*Biturigas*) and its region. Both were 'liberi' (Pliny, IV. 408, quoted by Holder, I. 436), i. e. under kings of their own.

Now in Prof. Camille Jullian's *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux* (I. 251) is an inscription by IVLIA ADVORIX to C. IVL. ANDELIPAE AQVITANI F(ilio) of whom she was wife and heir.

Ad-vo-rīx seems to be rightly so divided by Holder and to mean 'additional under-king' (or queen). Whether she bore that name in her own right or in that of her husband, we do not know.

Here, then, is a case of *vo* apparently degraded from *upo* in a Goidelic title which, to judge from the name Gaius Iulius, may be of the 1st cent. B.C., while both Robert and Jullian have testified to the purity of the characters. I have already suggested (p. 31) that *p* was first dropped in Goidelic after the labial vowel *u*.

The *p* in *Andelipae* I of course regard as Indo-European. The name seems to be compounded of the (intensive?) *ande-* (Holder, I. 139) and a stem *lip-*, which I equate either with Fick's 'leipo- begehren' (I. 534), as if = 'Bien désiré', or with his 'lepo-, lpe- übermüthig, üppig sein' (536).

Specimen of the Coligny calendar,

containing Cantlos 22-29, Samon . . 1-30, and Dumann . . . 1-19.

[Where restorable, missing letters are enclosed in brackets; where not, a * is substituted. In the original the headings of the months and of their divisions fill the breadth of the column. s before Dumann. 2 belongs to another column.]

o VII * *
o VIII * *
o VIII II * *
o X D *
o XI D *
o XII D *
o XIII II^f D AMB
o XIII I^f D IVO^f B CANT

DIVERTOMV

M SAMON^{MAT}

o I N DVMANIVOS
o II I* * Ivos
o III I^fII * DVM IVO
o IIII M D
o V D AMB
o VI M D
o VII PRINI LOVD N
o VIII D DVM
o VIII II^f M D
o X M D
o XI D AMB
o XII M D
o XIII I^fII M D
o XIII I^fII M D
o XV II^f M D

ATENOVX

o I D DVMAN
o II II^f D TRINVXSAMO
o III D AMB
o IIII I^fII M D
o V I^fII D AMB
o VI II^f M D
o VII D AMB
o VIII N INIS R
o VIII N INIS R
o X I^fII M D
o XI I^fII D AMB IVOs
o XII II^f M D IVOs
o XIII D AMB IVOs
o XIII M D IVOs
o XV D AMB IVOs

M DVMAN^{ANM}

o I SAMON PRIOVDIXIVOS
o S II N IVOs
o III D IVOs
o IIII D IVOs
o V [P]RINNI LACIT
o [VI]
o [VII] N INIS R
o [V]II I^fII M D SAMONI
o VIII D
o X D
o XI N INIS R
o XII D
o XIII D
o XIII D
o XV D

ATENOVX

o I M D SAMONI
o II M D SAMONI
o III I^fII D AMB
o IIII II^f D

APPENDIX II

Sequanian ¹

There were found in 1897 at Coligny ², in the department of the Ain, 126 fragments of a very lengthy inscription, about 1 metre in height, engraved on bronze, of singular curiosity and extreme linguistic importance. The fragments were removed to the Museum of Lyon, the conservator of which, M. Paul Dissard, spent more than 15 days in arranging them: he was able to combine the 126 into 45. He communicated their text to the Academy of Inscriptions on Dec. 29, and the Academy published it in 6 most laborious plates in the last number of its *Comptes Rendus* for 1897. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville sent copies of these plates to Prof. Rhys, who kindly thought it would interest me to see them, suggested my printing the result of my study of them, and was good enough to look over what I had written, so as to save me from the risk of any elementary blunders.

Discovery of the Coligny fragments.

Arrangement and transcription by M. Paul Dissard.

M. Dissard spent much further labour on them, and eventually Capt. Émile Espérandieu was able to establish their proper sequence. A lithograph of his restoration was published in the *Revue Celtique* for Oct. 1900. I have corrected my own work in various points by the results of their investigations ³, but every explanation and suggestion in the following pages is my own, unless I state otherwise.

Further work by him and Capt. Émile Espérandieu.

The fragments are part of a Keltic calendar covering a

Part of a Keltic calendar

¹ Revised from my 'Sequanian—first steps in the investigation of a newly discovered ancient European language'. Lond., D. Nutt, [May] 1898, 1s. net. A paper by M. Seymour de Ricci in the *Revue Celtique*, XIX. 213 was written earlier (26 Feb. 1898), but clearly published later, the number containing it, though dated 'Avril', not having reached the Bodleian till July 2. He got the order of the 12 months and the number of their days quite correctly, which I did not. In the *Revue Celtique* for Jan. 1900 and July 1903 are other papers of his which should be read, as should an article by Prof. R. Thurneysen in the *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol.* II. 523-44.

² In the hamlet of Charmoux, in a spot called Verpois, on land belonging to M. Victor Roux, which was being broken up in order to plant a vineyard. Near it were found fragments of a bronze lifesize figure of a naked god, now at Lyon.

³ Being abroad in Oct. 1898, I hoped to study the fragments themselves; but this was impracticable, as M. Dissard would be away and they were being repaired. I still regret the want of a photographic facsimile of them in the order restored by Capt. Espérandieu.

for 5 years. period of 5 years. The months being lunar, intercalation was necessary to equate them with the solar year, as at Rome —where, before the Julian reform, years ran in cycles of 24, and contained usually 355, but sometimes 377 or 378 days. The fragments give 2 months 5 times over, and an intercalary month in 2 years of the 5: they also show that ordinarily a year consisted of 12 months of 29 or 30 days, making 355 days, and that in a particular intercalated year there were 13 months and 385 days. 5 years of 355 days, 3 of 356, and 4 of 385 would exactly make up 3 Julian leap-year cycles¹. A very small fragment of a similar calendar discovered in 1802 in the Lake of Antre, near Moirans (which is about 15 miles N.W. of Coligny) will be found in the *Revue Celtique*, XXI. 15.

The following is a specimen year of the Kelts of the Ain —see further on p. 179:—

No. of days.	Name.	Lucky or not?
29	Giamon(-os <i>or</i> -us?)	Unlucky
30	Semivisonn(ios?)	Lucky
30	Equos	Unlucky
29	Elembiv(os?)	"
30	Edrini(os?)	Lucky
29	Cantlos	Unlucky
30	Samon(-os <i>or</i> -us?)	Lucky
29	Dumann(-os, -us, <i>or</i> -ios?)	Unlucky
30	Rivros	Lucky
29	Anagantios	Unlucky
30	Ogronu(s)	Lucky
30	Qutios	"
355		
	{ Intercalary month —once before Samon . . when its name may have begun with X. —once before Giamon . . when its name may have been, or ended with, <i>cantaran</i> or <i>gantaran</i> .	
30		
385		

¹ I do not, however, believe that the calendar represents an attempt to equate Sequanian and Julian chronology.

The year seems to have been regarded as consisting of two halves, one beginning with Giamon . . . , the other with Samon . . . , and an intercalary month to have been inserted before one or the other every $2\frac{1}{2}$ years (see p. 180). Two half-years, and intercalary month.

The luckiness or unluckiness of each month is indicated by writing against it MATV, MAT, or M, i.e. *matus* 'good' ¹, or ANM, i.e. *an-matus*, 'un-good' ². Various days in each month are also marked either MAT or M, but the same day of a month will be lucky in one year and perhaps not in another. Luckiness of months and days indicated. MATV and ANM.

Every month is divided into two parts. The first part consists of 15 days or nights, numbered I–XV, the second of either 15 or 14, which are likewise numbered I–XV or I–XIII. Between the divisions always comes ATENOVX, perhaps 'Furthornight' (cf. Gaulish *ate-* in *Ategnata*, &c.), but possibly it may be an abbreviation for *atenouxtion*, i.e. the *period* of further nights. In either case it would suggest that the counting may have been by nights, not days, and that each night after the 15th may have been called 'Furthornight 1', 'Furthornight 2', and so on. The fact that the Welsh numerals for 16–19 mean 1 + 15, 2 + 15, 3 + 15, and 4 + 15 may be a survival of this ancient mode of dividing the month, and I suggest that the habit in French and other Romance languages of reckoning by the 'quinzaine' or 'quinze jours' is a relic of the Celtic calendar. When there are only 14 days in the second part of the month, the word DIVERTOMV—otherwise spelt DIVERTOMV, DIVIRTOMV, and DIVORTOMV—is added at foot: I take it to be an independent Celtic equivalent of the Lat. *devertimus*, *devortimus* ³, or *divertimus*, *divortimus*, and to mean 'we turn off to the next month' or 'we stop' ⁴. Months divided into two parts. ATENOVX. Welsh numeration by 15 + 1 &c. French 'quinzaine'. DIVERTOMV.

Against all the days there is on the left a small hole ⁵, and on the right an inner column, in which the day is Holes on left of days,

¹ Highland Gaelic (Prof. Rhys) *math*, Ir. *math-*, *maith*, Welsh *mād*.

² Ir. *anmaith*, Welsh (Mr. W. Jones, M.P.) *anfad*.

³ I prefer *de-*. In Fr. 42 we have *deñor*, and, whereas Lat. *de* has Celtic equivalents in *dē*, *dī*, I do not find any for Lat. *dis-*, *dī-*.

⁴ In Fr. 42 is a very curious passage. That gives the *first* half of Rivros with the 12th, 14th, and 15th numbered, while against the 13th is no number—but *DEVORIVO RIV[RI]*, i.e. apparently *devor(timu) ivo Rivri* (the two last words being of constant occurrence). Why the 13th should be omitted, and why, if omitted, it should still have *ivo* and *Rivri* against it, I do not know. Is all this an engraver's misreading of an altered draft? The year is the first one in the calendar.

⁵ Prof. C. W. C. Oman compares the Roman practice of marking the year by

Abbreviations accompanying days.

D.

DS MA NS.

Date of writing.

Engraver's mistakes?

Variant spellings.

marked with a D (usually), an N (rarely), NSDS (still more rarely), and (once or twice a month) PRI(N)NI: but the same day is liable to be marked differently in different years, so that its mark is possibly regulated by the solar calendar. These marks remind one of the similar column in a Roman calendar, and have a similar import. Thus D may represent the stem *datl-*, which means in the Keltic languages an assembly or a judicial trial, or (more probably) the stem from which come O. Ir. *die*, 'day', and Lat. *dies*, or else the Latin *dies* itself, and in any of these cases may = the Latin *dies comitialis* and *dies fastus*: it is to be noted that only days which have a D are ever marked as lucky. In the Roman calendar there were 'dies intercesi', of which there were only 8 in the year—days which were 'nefasti' in the morning and evening, but 'fasti' in the afternoon. Well, on . . . cantaran 15 we have the note DS MA NS, which I take to mean '*dies mane nefastus*¹', and I suspect that this day = Dec. 12 in the Roman calendar, a *dies intercesus*. I suspect, in fact, that one object of this column, indeed the primary object of the entire table, is to give notice of the sittings of the local court². And here let me say that the fragments are in perfectly well-formed and easy Roman capitals, of, I should think, about the middle of the 1st cent. A.D.: long I is sometimes taller than other letters; so very rarely are L and T; and AE is sometimes used for E in the name AEDRINI.

If the facsimile is correct, there are not a few mistakes due to an engraver who was not a Sequanian but a Roman, e.g. SEMIVIS in Fr. 7 at Equos 13 (where the first *i* was surely *not* long³), and *Gantlos* for *Cantlos* in Fr. 16. And the facsimile twice gives RIXRI for RIVRI. Variant spellings, such as *Qutio* and *Cutio*, *Semivis-* and *Simivis-*, are apt to occur in

a nail, and Prof. Rhys adds the certainly right suggestion that at Coligny a nail was driven into the hole of the current day, and next day shifted a hole lower (cf. Cicero, *Epp. ad Att.*, v. 15, 1, 'ex hoc die clauum anni mouebis').

¹ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, l. 50, 'Qui iam fastus erit, mane nefastus erat'. So, where NSDS occurs, it would = 'nefastus dies'. Of course the abbreviated words *may* be Keltic words coming from the same stems as *dies*, *mane*, and *nefastus*.

² A comparison of Fr. 1 with the Roman calendar shows many court-days at Coligny which were *dies nefasti* at Rome, but a *dies nefastus*, though a day on which a praetor was under a particular legal disability, did not bar all other legal business.

³ The I found once only in PRI NI and SIND thus becomes open to suspicion.

runs, which lead me to suspect that the draft from which the engraver worked was written by more than one scribe.

The days marked D are often accompanied by an arrangement of three upright lines, one of which is always tall, and usually has a small stroke through it or on one side of it. These I have guessed to indicate the court-hours, the tall line I standing for noon, † for 11.30, ‡ for 12.30, +¹ for 11.30-12.30: but Prof. Rhÿs, from personal inspection, does not believe that †, ‡, and + intentionally differ. Thus III would be 10, II 11, II I, III 2, II + 9.30 or 10-12.30, and so on².

N I believe to have a negative origin, such as *non iuridicus* or *n. nefastus*. The day distinguished by PRINI (once only), PRINI, PRINNI, PRNVI is always earlier than the 10th, and there are never more than two (seldom more than one) in the same month. Once we have PRINNO, once PRINO. A PRINNI day is never marked D(ies), but is once marked N, and I take *Prinno(s)* and *Prinni* to be sing. and pl. nominatives from the stem of Stokes's '⟨p⟩rannâ Teil' (227), with which, taking *nn* as=*nd*, we may compare Lat. *prand-ium*, a term applied to public doles. The word is almost always followed by LOVD or LOD, LOD, doubtless the *Ludi* of such frequent occurrence in Roman calendars, or by LACIT, LACI, LACE, LAC³, or LA, which should = *spectacula*, from Stokes's stem 'lakato-, lokato- Auge' (237): cf. the double sense, active and passive, of our English 'spectacles' and 'sight'. According to Longnon's atlas (pl. VII and p. 175), in Carolingian times Coligny was called Coloniacus, i. e. the place of the colony; Holder (I. 1067) gives Coloniacum as its supposed original name; while scribes wrote 'Coloniacum' as late as the end of the 13th cent., and 'Colognacum' centuries later still (see Bernard, *Cartulaire de Savigny*, &c. II. p. 1116). As a colony, it doubtless had an amphitheatre, with fixed days for games, spectacles, and public doles.

In considerably over 200 cases the day of the month also has, still further to the right, the name of another month

Sequences of upright lines.

Do they indicate court-hours?

PRINNI.

PRINNO.

LACIT, LACE.

Coligny was a Roman colony.

Peculiar use of names of

¹ It is hard always to be sure of this sign in the lithographs: it seems often like a careless † or ‡.

² In Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, article 'Horologium', may be seen (p. 259) a figure of a Greek sundial with a long line for noon and short ones for the other hours.

³ In Fr. 2 written with G for C, doubtless by an engraver's error. I owe to Thurneysen's observation the single instance of LACE.

months in
body of
text. (very rarely, of its own month) in the nominative or genitive, as if against March 8 our almanacs had 'February', and against March 9 'April'. Occasionally more than one such indication is put against the same day—as if the morning were to be like one month, and the evening like another.

Are they
weather-
forecasts? Prof. Rhys's suggestion that these are weather-forecasts seems probable, for I find repeated weather-forecasts in the Roman calendar of Polemius Silvius in A.D. 448-9 (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* I. pp. 257-79). If so, then in the Coligny calendar the weather is almost always borrowed from the last month or the next one; but in the winter intercalary month it is borrowed with delightful impartiality, and is liable to change once or twice a day! See further p. 179.

TRINVX-
SAMO &c. On the 17th of Samon . . , we have once TRINVXSAMO, once TRINOSAMSIND, once PRINO SAMON, and once PRINI SAM SIND. I suspect that in these last two cases PRINO and PRINI are errors for TRINO, and that TRINVX and TRINO=TRINOVX, 'a space of 3 nights' (Lat. *trinoctium*), perhaps an abbreviation for *trinoux*tion.

EXINGL. On the 3rd of Samon . . , we have EXINGI¹, 'the marchings out', or 'the marchings out and round', i.e. apparently the Ambarvalia, the date of which at Rome was May 29.

INIS R. Days marked N often have the marginal note INIS R (where R may=the Roman calendarial R, i.e. 'religiosus')

AMB, IVO S or INIS² (INI): days marked D the marginal note AMB³ or IVOS (IVO), or both. When this last word stands alone, it is some-

SINDIV &c. times preceded by SIND, SIND (once⁴), SINDIV, which occurs nowhere else except in conjunction with the '3 nights of Samon . . ', and which I suspect to mean 'to-day'—whether it is to be read as *sindiu*⁵ or as short for *sindivos* or *sindodivos* (as *Anagtio* for *Anagantios*). As for *ivos* itself, it may have a religious import, for it is once followed by DIB, which may stand for *dibus* 'to the gods', as 'dibus et deabus' is found in a Gallo-Roman inscription at Trèves (Serrure, *Essai de gram. gaul.*, 14).

DIP.

¹ *Excing(us)* and *Escingos* are names found in Gaul. *Exingī* may be a slip for *excīngī*, or else a metathesis of *escīngī*, or possibly even a corrupt hybrid form.

² Also INNIS (Thurneysen). ?=INDIS, and cf. Ir. *ind*, 'end', 'top'.

³ Can AMB mean that *both* the 'duouiri iure dicundo' would sit?

⁴ I suspect this to be an engraver's slip.

⁵ Prof. Rhys points out that the Ir. *hindiu*, *indiu*, 'to-day', seems to correspond.

In the headings of the months, the name of each is preceded ^{MID.} by MID or M. The D was difficult (for one expected MIS) till Prof. Rhÿs told me that D (usually with its perpendicular barred) is found in place of S in some Gaulish inscriptions: it clearly = a lisping of the sibilant into ð or þ. The names ^{Names of months.} themselves are generally abbreviated; thus Ogronu(s) is headed Ogron, but the full form is found in what I call the weather-forecasts, which give Ogronv¹ (nom.) and Ogroni (gen.). On these names I offer the following remarks².

Giamon . . , Prof. Rhÿs remarked at the outset, = 'Winter'. *Giamon* . . . In 'Semivisonn . . .' I or I is generally written for the *e*³: the name may = 'Half-spring' or 'Spring-sowing'⁴. 'Equos' ^{Semivi-sonn.... Equos. Elembiv-(os?)} may = Lat. *aequos* and mean 'Temperate'. Elemb-iv(os?) occurs at about the same season as the Attic month Elaph-e-bolion, and means 'Stag-month': for *elaphos* admittedly represents *elñ-bhos*, whence in Sequanian *elen-bos* and by assimilation *elembos*, with adj. *elemb-ivos*?—and the hunting of the red deer on Exmoor begins about March 25 (*Encyc. Brit.*, XII. 394). In 'Edrini . . .' occasional *ae* shows the *e* to be long: I ^{Edrini(os).} suggest that it = the Lat. *e-*, and that the stem *drengj-*, 'to mount', is found in the name, which may = 'the month of outspringing'. 'Cantlos' = 'Singing-month', 'Samon . . .' = *Cantlos*. 'Summer', 'Dumann . . .' = *Dumand(i)os*, from the same stems ^{Samon... Dumann...} as Lat. *dumus*, 'bramble', and *ävthos* (andhos, Fick, I. 353). 'Rivros' doubtless = 'Harvest-month'—from a stem *reib-* ^{Rivros.} (cf. Middle Irish *rébaim*, 'I tear') related to A. S. *riþan*, 'reap', and *riþ*, 'harvest'. On Anagantios see p. 180. 'Ogronu(s)' ^{Ogronu(s).} Prof. Rhÿs connects with O. Ir. *úar*, 'cold', which suggests an earlier *ogr-*. 'Qutios', otherwise written 'Cutios'⁵, is ^{Qutios, Cutios.} doubtless from Stokes's stem 'kavat- Schauer' (74), which

¹ Like Latin from the time of Plautus to that of Lucretius, Sequanian often drops-final -s in -ös, -üs, and perhaps -is (INI for INIS).

² Let me acknowledge my unceasing obligation to Stokes's *Urkeittischer Sprachschatz*.

³ Once the second vowel is represented by tall I, which I take to be an error of the engraver.

⁴ From stem *vesanto-* *-antio* does not produce *-onnio* in *Anagantios* (in *oxtantia* the stem may be borrowed from Latin), and I suggest that in *Anagantios* *i* is a pure vowel but in *Semivisonnios* not—and that the process of change was *-vesantiyos*, *-vesanthyos*, *-vesanhyos*, *-vesannyos*, *-vesonnyos*.

⁵ M. Seymour de Ricci has referred to a Locrian month *Kούριος*. Thurneysen (*Z. f. celt. Phil.*, II. 534) corrects this to *Kούριος*, but thinks it too far off.

gives 'ir. *cúa*, Gen. Sg. *cúad*, Winter . . . cymr. *cawad*, *cawod*, *cafod* „imber, nimbus“, acorn. *couat* (gl. *nimbus*) . . . bret. *couhat glau* „ondée de pluie“, *jetzt kaouad*'. The meaning is 'Cloudy' or 'Rainy'.

Notes connected with Rivros.

Captain Espérandieu's restoration shows that the word beginning with PET, which when written in full turns out to be PETIVX, and the words BRIC, CO, and OCIO MV, occur only in Rivros or the month after it, and that each time they are followed by the nom. Rivros, the gen. Rivri, or an abbreviation of that month's name. It is clear to me that these 4 words represent different dates connected with 'Harvest' (Rivros) and the internal evidence for the order of the 4 dates shows it to have been *Bric* (thrice on Rivros 4), *Petiux* (once on Rivros 25, once on Rivros 23), *Co* (once on Rivros 25, once on Rivros 13, once on Anagantios 2), and *Ociomu* (once on Rivros 4, thrice on Anagantios 4). The meaning of *Bric* is quite clear to me—it is the 'Whitening' of the harvest, from **brak blinken* (Stokes, 170). The first part of *Petiux* is certainly from the stem of Stokes's '⟨p⟩itu-, ⟨p⟩ittu- Korn, Getreide' (45), which yields 'ir. *ith*, Gen. *etho* + cymr. *yd* „frumentum, seges“, *ith* in *gwenith* (= *vindittu*) „triticum, far, ador“, corn. *yd* (gl. *seges*), bret. *id*, *ed*, *eth* „blé“ (*ib.*), and I suggest that all these forms may be explained from a single stem *petiu-*. In the case of *Co*, its special association with Harvest is shown by the fact that when it occurs on Rivros 25 the mutilated entry against that day has [R]IVRIORIVRI i.e. 'Rivri Co Rivri'. I suggest that *Co* = *Covinnus* or some related word, i.e. the carrying of the harvest, the harvest-wain. And *Ociomu* may just possibly = 'Harrowing' after autumn ploughing: cf. Stokes's *okita* 'harrow' (6).

Inscription before a new year.

At a point where a new year began, we have CIALLOS B^[1]IS SONNO CINGOS ^[2]AMMAN · M · M · XIII ^[2]LAT CCCLXXXV, i.e. 'TOTAL (Ir. *ciall*, 'collection' — see p. 136) OF-YEAR (the imperfect B=B· or B̄, i.e. gen. of *bliadnis*, Ir. *bhladain*, 'year'): THIS (cf. Ir. *són*, 'hoc') CYCLE (Lat. *cing-*, 'to go round') or course (Prof. Rhŷs, Gaulish *cing-*, 'to go') OF-TIME(S) (*amman* · is an abbreviated gen. sing. or pl. of

¹ The top of the B is lost: there may have been a stroke or letter above it, or dot after it. Apparently no full-sized letter can have been lost in the slight gap which precedes IS.

² It is not certain that any letters have been lost in these gaps.

amman-: cf. Ir. *amm*, 'time', pl. (Macbain, 12) *amanna*) IS (Ir. *is*) MONTHS (M·M·) 13, DAYS (Ir. *láthe*, 'day') 385'.

The only other sentence of any length is contained in the following broken note at the end of the initial intercalary month which begins the entire calendar. It is important to observe that the calendar contains parts of a cycle of 5 years, and that, although the corresponding date is preserved in a fragment of another year, this note does not recur.

Another inscription.

RIXTIO

COB[REX] CARIEDIT

OX[T]ANTIA

POGDEDORTONIN

QVIMON

The division and translation should be approximately: RIX-TIOCOBREX 'the chief boundary-commissioner' CARIEDIT 'marks' OXTANTIA 'eighths': POG 'afterwards' DEDORT 'he apportions' ONIN 'a lease' QVIMON 'of 5 years'.

Division and translation.

In *rix-tiocobrex* we can divide and restore because we know that *rix* was Gaulish for 'a chief' (Lat. *rex*), and because TIOCOBREXTIO occurs several times in the marginalia of the calendar as something that happened on certain days. *Tiocobrex* literally means 'circumference-joint-marker'. Its first part is *tio-*, found in Irish as *tl*, translated by Windisch in his *Wörterbuch* as *circuitus*? : he gives another *tl* as 'garment', plural *tii*—obviously the same word, i.e. 'something that goes round'¹. The *co-* needs no explanation, but I owe to Prof. Rhys the suggestion that *brex* may = *mrex*, and I now see that it comes from a root *mreg*, which gives a number of Keltic words in *mre-* and *bre-*, denoting colour or spottedness (see Stokes, 220-1), and also yields the derivative *mrog-*, 'boundary', which appears in Gaulish as *brog-(ib.)*: cf. our verb 'mark' and 'mark'='boundary', which are related to each other and to the Keltic stems.

RIXTIO COBREX.

Cariedit is from the Keltic stem *karjâ* ('Tadel', Stokes, 71), which gives Old Welsh *cared*, glossed as 'nota' and 'nequitiae'—its original meaning probably was 'to mark': the *d* in Welsh is of doubtful origin, and Prof. Rhys and Mr. J. A. Smith, Fellow of Balliol, both suggest that the

CARIEDIT.

¹ For the corresponding verb in Pictavian and (?)Sordonic see p. 142.

d in *cariedit* may be the Gaulish *d* which sometimes represents a lisped sibilant: the word would then = an earlier *cariesit*, and may mean 'will mark'—but the *next* verb is almost certainly a present.

OXTANTIA. *Oxtantia*¹ (= *ox̣tantia*) means allotments of one eighth of the leasable land, meted by the *octans*, an instrument for dividing a circumference into eighths. *Pog*² is euphonic (through influence of following *d*) for *poc*, which is compounded of the prep. *po* seen in Lat. *po-situs*, *po-st*, and the termination *c* (= *que*) of *ac* (*atque*), *nec* (*neque*), *donec* (also *donique*): it appears in Irish as the prep. *óc*, 'by'—cf. German *nach* for double meaning 'by' and 'after', and Lat. *post*, *usque*, &c., for transition from adverb to preposition. *Dedort*³ is compounded of the prep. *de* and the root *der-*, 'to divide' (seen in Greek *δέρω*), whence Welsh *darn*, 'a piece' (Stokes, 147). *Onin* is the accusative of a stem *oni-*, 'a loan', Irish *oin* (Stokes, 50). *Quīmon* is an adj. like Lat. *bīmus*, *trīmus*, *quadrīmus*, but the formation seems to be different, or we should expect *quīnquīmon*: it doubtless arises from *quīncmon* (cf. Lat. *quīnus* for *quīncnus*).

Explan-
ation of the
inscription.

The explanation is as follows, and the grounds of it will be found in the articles 'Agrariae leges', 'Agrimetatio', 'Censor', 'Colonia', and 'Lustrum', in Smith, Wayte, and Marindin's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

Every colony (as Coligny was) had a *territorium*, 'marked out by metes and bounds', part of which was liable to be public land, and in such cases was let, frequently (if not usually) for a period of 5 years. The maintenance of the boundaries, and the letting of the public land, was the duty of the censors appointed every 5th year, who at Rome entered on their office in April and usually went out of it in the May thirteen-months. At the time when our inscription was written, the title of censor had been abolished, but the duties of the office were still performed in colonies by 2 (or 4) men entitled *duoviri* (or *quattuorviri*) *censoria potestate quin-*

¹ I have to thank M. Dissard for information that the defective second letter is an *x*, and for satisfying other inquiries of the same kind.

² Unless an engraver's error for *poc*, as *Gantlos* for *Cantlos* and *lagit* (Fr. 2) for *laciit*.

³ *Dedort* is of the athematic conjugation, like Lat. *fert*, *vult*, *est* (see Lindsay, *Latin language*, 455-6).

quennales; and at the end of the 1st cent. we find associated with them a *curator* who became the administrator of the landed property. It is pretty clear to me that once in every 5 years the *rix-tiocobrex* or chief commissioner—whether one of the *quinquennales* or a *curator*—first marked out the allotments of public land to be leased for the next 5 years (perhaps on the ground itself, perhaps with chalk on the bronze chart erected in the centre of the colony), and then apportioned them among the applicants. And these facts, if I have rightly divined them, explain why the calendar covers just 5 years. The *tiocobrex* itself, which was not limited to a single year, was doubtless conducted by *agrimensores* or by the *curator* and an *agrimensor*.

Having now mentioned almost everything in the inscription, I must explain why I call it a separate language—not a dialect of ‘Gaulish’—and why I call it Sequanian. Language of the calendar.

All the Keltic languages hitherto known¹ have rejected Indo-European *p* except in borrowed words, or in certain combinations of consonants (of which *pr* is *not* one). The inscription before us has *p* in three words—PRINI or PRINNI, PETIVX, and POG, in all which I believe it to be Indo-European. If I am right about the derivation of any one of these three, Sequanian is entitled to rank as a language, and not as a mere dialect. And its importance as a link between the other Keltic languages and Latin (which, like itself, keeps Indo-European *p*) is then obvious: it makes the distance between Keltic and Italic narrower than ever. The instances of *p*, apparently Indo-European. Sequanian links other Keltic languages with Latin.

But, although the other Keltic languages are unanimous in their dislike of Indo-European *p*, they have been of two minds about Indo-European *q*. The Goidelic branch—i.e. Irish, Manx, and Highland Gaelic—have kept it or modified it into *c*. The Kymric branch—i.e. ‘Gaulish’, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton—have changed it to *p*. But here is an inscription in East Gaul, separated by many hundreds of miles from Irish, Manx, and Highland Gaelic, which apparently gives us Indo-European *q*, in QVIMON and EQVOS. Consequently the theory that the distinction between the Goidelic and Indo-European *q* in Keltic. Goidelic. Kymric. Indo-European *q* in the calendar?

¹ Written before I knew of Pictet’s ignored explanation of *prosag* in Biturigan (see p. 129), and of course before my own elucidation of the Pictavian Rom tablet (see p. 133).

Kymric branches arose before the Kelts entered the British isles may be taken as henceforth holding the field.

The *q* in
Sequani.

To some philologists, however, as I learnt from Prof. Rhys and afterwards observed in looking over the *Revue Celtique*, it was a problem how the Sēquāni, one of the chief tribes of Gaul, came by the *q* in their name—for ‘Gaulish’ had no *q*. Well, our inscription was found on the borders of, if not actually in, the territory of the Sequani, and it solves the problem very convincingly: the Sequanians obviously did not speak ‘Gaulish’, but the language of our inscription—to which, therefore, we can hardly give a better name than ‘Sequanian’.

New point
of view for
linguistics
of Gaul.

And it will be necessary henceforth to look at the proper names and vernacular inscriptions of the Sequanian part of Gaul, and of its neighbourhood, from our new point of view, instead of concluding without examination that they are ‘Gaulish’.

The names
*Epamandu-
durum*
and *Lopo-
sagium*.

In the *Revue Celtique* for Jan. 1899, 108–9, M. d’Arbois de Jubainville does indeed point out that ‘*Epamandu-
durum*, Mandeure, et *Loposagium*, Luxiol’ were in Sequanian territory, and regards each as an instance of *p* for *q*. But the name of the Sēquāni suggests that they had once lived on the Sēquāna (Seine) and had migrated east. Hence these two places may have been originally non-Sequanian settlements.

Migration
of the
Sequani?

The name
Poppilli.

M. d’Arbois argues that the agnomen Poppilli (gen.) of a Sequanian citizen of Lyon shows a Sequanian Poppillos, with mutation of *q* to *p*: to me it is merely the gen. of the Latin name Popilius, Popillius. Surely the *q* in the name of the Sequanians themselves is good evidence that ‘le *q* médial se serait maintenu’.

The name
of the
Sequana.

Whether we derive the name of the Sequana from the root of Ind.-Eur. *setkō* ‘I gush out’ (Fick, I. 137), as does Stokes (295), or from Ind.-Eur. *seik-* ‘to dry up’ (Fick, *ib.*), whence Lat. *siccus*, it first got that name at or above Châtillon-sur-Seine: for ‘en certains étés il n’y a plus d’eau dans son lit aux approches de Châtillon; mais là-même, d’une grotte, sort une doux supérieure aux autres, onde éternelle... au-dessous de laquelle on n’a jamais vu sécher le fleuve de Paris’ (Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Nouv. dict. de géog. univ.*, v. 777). Châtillon is a little N.W. of the position of the Sequani in Caesar’s time.

District
where it
originated.

APPENDIX III

Pictavian¹

WE all know that Poitiers (once Pictavi) and Poitou (once ‘Poitiers’,
‘Poitou’,
named
from the
Pictones,
Pictavi, or
Pectavi. Pagus Pictavus) receive their name from a people called the Pictones, Pictavi, or Pectavi. In the recently published section of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (XIII. I, 1) which relates to Aquitania are various Latin inscriptions found within their territory, and containing proper names which are doubtless native; but the only ones yet discovered which are written entirely in the vernacular of the district seem to be the following:

I. A pyramidal *menhir* between the ruins of Vieux Poitiers and the river Clain. Stokes (Bezenberger’s *Beiträge*, XI. 129) reads it thus: Ancient
vernacular
inscrip-
tions.
The Vieux
Poitiers in-
scription.

RATIN BRIVATIOM
FRONTV . TARBEISONIOS
IEVRV.

The C. I. L. reads RATN and gives the idea that 2 or 3 letters have been lost before the following B. It also reads TARBELSONIOS. After looking at the facsimile in the *Dict. archéologique de la Gaule*² I have no hesitation in abiding by Stokes’s reading, except that the C. I. L. is apparently right in placing the first stop above the line and omitting the second.

Stokes has rendered the lines:

*Propugnaculum pontilium
Fronto, Tarbeisoni filius,
fecit.*

Its trans-
lation.

Of the approximate correctness of this rendering there can

¹ Revised from the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, III. 1900 (where it was entitled ‘The Language of the Continental Picts’). Certain passages relating exclusively to Sequanian have been transferred to the previous Appendix. I have also illustrated the language of the Rom tablet from the Amélie-les-Bains tablets—for which see Appendix IV. And I have added a postscript showing the rhythmical structure of the Rom tablet.

² The first I is laid horizontally across the T and N. The VA are ligatured, and so are the NT. Both E are shaped Ξ , an old form of Greek ε . And the IO are ligatured thus ϕ .

be no serious doubt. *Ratin* is the acc. sing. of 'râtî-s, râtî-s, râto-n, Erdwall, Erdbank', which gives in Irish *ráth* (Stokes, *Urkelt. Sprachschatz*, 226). *Brivatiom* is the gen. pl. of an adjective of which the nom. pl. would have been given in Latin as *Brivates*, from the stem of 'Gaulish' *briva*, 'bridge' (ib. 184). *Frontu* is a man's name borrowed from the Latin *Fronto*. *Tarbeisonios* is an adj. formed from *Tarbeisonos*, which is a nickname denoting a man 'who bellows like a bull'. For the general form of the name cf. Latin *raucisonus*; *tarbei-* represents *tarbeio-*, *ταρβέιο-* from *tarb-* 'bull', O. Ir. *tarb-* (cf. *κραται-* for *κραταίο-* in Greek compounds); and *sonos* represents the stem of Lat. *sonus*, Ir. *son*, Welsh *swn* (Pictet, *Rev. archéol.* xv. 395). And *ieuru* is the word so frequent in 'Gaulish' inscriptions, governing the name of some material object in the accusative.

I render

The embankment of the people at the bridge
Frontu the son of Tarbeisonos
put up.

The rendering of *ratin*,

My reasons for translating 'embankment' and not 'rampart' (= *propugnaculum*) are these. The position—according to Longnon's atlas—was not on or near a frontier, and if it had been we can hardly suppose that the Pictones would have been in danger from any neighbouring tribe: the Romanization of the country is manifest both from the character of the engraving and from the borrowed name *Fronto*. It seems to me far more likely that the embankment was erected to protect the houses near the bridge from floods.

of *brivatiom*,

Pictet takes *brivatiom* to signify not 'people at the bridge' but 'the bridge and its appurtenances': Stokes from the fact of his translating in Latin (instead of, as usual, in English) perhaps meant to leave that an open question. When Pictet says '*Brivates*, au pluriel, a dû signifier *pontilia*', I cannot believe that this signification would have been conveyed by a masculine termination¹, and the abundance of 'Gaulish' names in *-ates*, signifying dwellers at or in, seems to furnish a presumption in favour of a masculine sense here.

¹ No neuters are known of 'Gaulish' or Latin adjectives in *-atis*: place-names like *Brivate* are always possible locatives masculine.

My reason for translating *ieuru* 'put up' is that I believe and of it to be from a stem answering to that of *ἀωρέω* and *ἐωρέω*, *ieuru*: 'I raise, I suspend'. It would thus have the double sense of *ieuru*: 'to erect' and 'to set up as a votive offering' (cf. *ἀραιθέναι*), *ieuru*: this last connected with *ἀραιπέω*, *ieuru*: *ἐωρέω*? which would suit every case in which it occurs¹.

The inscription is clearly in an ancient Keltic language, The language but of what exact class it does not show; for it contains no stems in which Indo-European *p* or *q* were ever present. It does, however, contain the stem *tarb-* 'bull', which appears on The spelling of *tarb-* an altar at Paris as *tarv-* (in the nom. *tarvos*). Had the Paris inscription been late, we might have attributed the difference to an 'infection' of *b* into *v*; but it is assigned to the time of Tiberius (Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule*, III. pl. XI). Consequently there is a presumption that the language of the Picts differed a little dialectally from that of the Parisii.

2. There² has, however, been published by Prof. Camille Jullian in the *Revue Celtique* for Ap. 1898 a Pictavian inscription destined to revolutionize most current beliefs as to the history of the Keltic languages. It actually bristles with Indo-European *p*, and thereby conclusively shows that Pictavian was not a 'Gaulish' dialect at all. The Roman inscription published by Prof. C. Jullian —abounding in Ind.-Eur. *p*.

It is engraved on the two sides of a leaden tablet, 9 centimeters in height and 7 in breadth, found in 1887 in a well at Rom, about 38 kilometers SW. of Poitiers. In the same well were 15 similar tablets, but uninscribed. M. Jullian says 'C'était l'usage, dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine, de confier non seulement à des tombes, mais à la mer, aux fleuves et même aux sources des puits les tablettes adressées aux divinités infernales et sur lesquelles les dévots avaient tracé leurs souhaits ou leurs exécutions'. He regards the inscriptions on the tablet as unquestionably of this nature, but beyond suggestions as to Written on a lead tablet found in a well. Object of such tablets

¹ The undoubted forms are IEVRV (8 times) and ΕΙΩΡΟΥ (once), and the latter, as being in Greek characters, is presumably the older. IOREBE is probably from the same verb, though the division of words may be contested.

Is not the name of the Jura range (Iura, *Ioupa*, *Iopa*) from the same stem, with the meaning 'Highlands'?

² I pass over the charm numbered 28 in Stokes's list because I am satisfied that M. d'Arbois de Jubainville is right in reading that part of it which is not obviously Latin as Greek written in Latin letters. As a matter of palaeography, I am certain that, if the facsimile can be trusted, there is no *d* in the entire inscription. But I agree with Stokes that 'bis' is a direction to say the following words twice.

the meaning of a few words has attempted no translation. I myself never examined them till March 1899, when I communicated an almost complete rendering of them to a distinguished Keltic scholar. In arriving at this rendering I was not in the smallest degree influenced by any preconceptions of M. Jullian as to the nature of the inscriptions; but it will be seen that the rendering confirms his theory to the fullest degree.

The well-goddess Imona.

The goddesses Caticatona and Dibona.

Names of supplicants.

The inscription is in verse. Its date.

The well was connected with a goddess named Imona: an invocation to her from two persons unnamed fills one side of the tablet, and implies that the supply of water was sometimes stopped or delayed. The other side of the tablet contains invocations to two other goddesses, Caticatona and Dibona, the former from persons unknown, the latter from Sueio(s) and his female servant Pontidunna Vouseia. The whole is in verse, though irregularly copied: for a correcter arrangement see p. 153. M. Jullian thinks the writing is not earlier than the 3rd cent., and that the *m* sometimes found points to the 4th. He will, however, find similar *m*'s in a Latin document of the year 293, facsimiled in Grenfell and Hunt's *Greek papyri*, ser. 2, plate v and Wessely's *Schrifttafeln z. älter. lat. Palaeographie*, tab. vi.

Meaning of the names of the goddesses.

As regards the names of the goddesses invoked, *-ona* was a common termination of the names of goddesses in Gaul. Devona or Dibona (see Holder) was the name of the town of Cahors, and in the 4th cent. Ausonius celebrates the fountain of Bordeaux, named *Dīvōnā*: it was 'urbis genius' and its name meant 'Celtarum lingua, fons addite divis'. Imona is, of course, from an *im-* or *eim-*stem, and, as she was a well-goddess, that of the Lat. *im-us* suggests itself. Caticatona remains, shown by the epithet *clotuvola* to be another water-goddess, and her name seems to mean 'very white'. All three names will be discussed later.

Mode of writing.

The original is in cursive Latin letters, without capitals, division of words, or apparently stops¹. I here divide it into words, add hyphens and stops, and give *the most literal rendering possible*. Had I allowed myself the ordinary freedom of translators, the version would have been much more effective.

¹ M. Jullian's facsimile shows a dot high up at the end of A 1 and an acute accent after the end of B 8; but, as he does not include them in his transcript, they may be accidental marks either on the plate or on the tablet.



THE ROM TABLET
1st side



THE ROM TABLET
2nd side

A.

1. *Ape cialli carti,*
2. *eti-heiont Caticato-*
3. *na, demtis sie clotu-*
4. *vla; se demti tiont.*
5. *Bi cartaont, Dibo-*
6. *na. Sosio, deei pia!*
7. *sosio, pura! sosio,*
8. *govisa! Sueio tiet:*
9. *sosio, poua he(i)o(nt)!*
10. *sua demtia Po(n)ti-*
11. *dunna Vousea.*

For thought's love,
 ever-continuing Caticato-
 na, to-servants [-of-thine] be
 flow-
 strong; since servants [-of-
 thine] are-going-round.
 Be gracious, Dibo-
 na. With-this, goddess kind!
 with-this, pure-one! with-this,
 joyous-one! Sueio is-going-round:
 with-this, maiden continual!
 his servant Ponti-
 dunna [daughter-] of-Vous(s).

Transcript
 and trans-
 lation.

B.

1. *Teu! oraiimo:*
2. *ehzia atanto te, hei¹*
3. *zio atanta te, com-*
4. *priato sosio derti!*
5. *Noi pommio at eho*
6. *tis-se potea: te pri-*
7. *avimo — atanta! Te[i]-*
8. *onte ziatu mezio*
9. *zia, 'Teu!' oraiimo:*
10. *ape sosio derti,*
11. *Imona, demtis sie*
12. *uzietiao[nt] pa[du]a.*

Swell! we-pray:
 today forthstretch thee, to-
 day forthstretch thee, to-this
 (sosiö, l. 4) be-
 loved tribute!
 We-two drink at this
 thy-own well: thee have-
 we-loved — forthstretch! Go-
 ing-round daily at-mid
 day, 'Swell!' we-pray:
 for this tribute,
 Imona, to- [thy-] servants be
 outreachi[ng] qu[ic]k.

The letters inside () are M. Jullian's conjectures. In B 12 the [nt] and [du] are my own, M. Jullian not being able to conjecture the missing letters. The [i] in B 7 is quite plain in the facsimile, though M. Jullian has overlooked it in his transcript. The Roman i's in B 2, 3, 8, 9, 12 are cases in which

Horizon-
 tal I

¹ 'HEI (liés) est douteux, il n'y a de certain que les deux hastes extrêmes.' The facsimile suggests E in the middle of H, i. e. HE, EH, or HEH. Fortunately the meaning of the word is beyond doubt, and only the phonetic form is in question.

written
across Z.

di has been modified to *zi* before a following vowel and the *i* has been written horizontally across the *z*. M. Jullian has admitted the possibility of its being an *i*, but, not having the linguistic clew, has not seen that it *was* one, and has represented the digraph in his transcript by simple *z*. In the Vieux Poitiers inscription a similar ligature occurs, the *I* in RATIN being laid horizontally across the *T* and *N*, and unligatured horizontal *I* above the line is common in British Christian inscriptions.

Glossary.

I now proceed to give a full glossary of the tablet, which will put the substantial accuracy of the translation beyond doubt. My references to Stokes's indispensable *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, Macbain's *Etymological dict. of the Gaelic language*, and Lindsay's *Latin language* will be so frequent that I shall abbreviate them to the author's name followed by the number of the page: Holder's *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* I refer to in the same way, and also *Z*², i.e. Ebel's (2nd) ed. of Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*. The signs over vowels are only meant to be their *original* time-values.

ǎpě (A 1, B 10). 'For'. Preposition governing dative, = (Stokes 24-5) Sansk. *ápi*, Gr. *ἐνί* (Lithuanian *api- ap-*, Lat. *op-*, Oscan *op?*). Also found in compound vb. *apetei*, *apete*, 'circle-hither' in the 1st Amélie-les-Bains tablet. For its meaning *here* cf. Gr. *ἐνί* with dat. signifying the price for which or condition on which a thing is done.

ǎt (B 5). 'At'. Preposition (governing accusative), O. Ir. prefix *ad-* (Stokes 9), *at-* (in *atomaig* &c., *Z*² 430), Lat. *ad*, also *at* (Lindsay 577, 77). Not to be confounded with 'ati darüber' (Stokes 8), 'Gaulish' *ate*. Followed by acc. pl. in the Amélie-les-Bains tablet 3, l. 3.

atǎntǎ (B 3) }
atantō (B 2) } 'Stretch forth, reach forward'. 2nd pers. sing. imper. act. of transitive verb, governing acc. *te*.

These are compressed either from *ǎt-tǎntǎ*, *ǎt-tantō* (see above under *at*) or more probably from *ǎd-tǎntǎ*, *ǎd-tantō*. Cf. in Belgic 'Atrebatas pro Adtrebatas, assimilatione eadem, quae hibernice invaluit in . . . *atreba*' (*Z*² 866, comparing *adrothreb*): Irish instances of *at-* for *ad-* can be multiplied from Stokes and Windisch.

The main stem is *tan* 'stretch'; for parallels see Stokes (127) under 'tenō „extendo“': Lat. *ten-do* and Gr. *τείνω* are of course among them.

The terminations *-tǎ* and *-tō* = the Latin 2 sing. imper. in *-tō(d)*, O. Ind. *-tāt* (see Lindsay 516). The corresponding Irish form is *-the*, where the *th* of course arises from earlier *t*, but the *e* according to Macbain (xlvi)

represents $\bar{e}s$. For Goidelic \bar{a} = Lat. \bar{o} , Gk. ω , cf. the vocative particle a ; and for interchange of \bar{a} and \bar{o} in Irish¹ cf. *már* and *mór* (Z² 17). It is doubtful whether we should read *atānto* or *atāto*: see under *Caticatona*.

bī (A 5). 'Be'. 2nd pers. sing. imper. from stem of 'beîð ich lebe, bin' (Stokes 165). The corresponding person of the imper. is *bí* in Irish, but in Welsh *byd* (mod. *bydd*), Corn. *byth*, Bret. *bez*—in which, however, the final consonant is not a person-ending but part of an extended form of the stem.

cārtāōnt (A 5). 'Gracious'. Nom. sing. pres. part. act. of *cārtāō*, from stem *cārt*—see *carti*. Cf. from the shorter stem *cār*—Stokes's 'karaō ich liebe' (70) and 'karaont- liebend, Freund' (71).

cārtī (A 1). 'Kindness'. Dat. sing. of *cārtis* (masc.) from stem *cārt*. *cārt*- is lengthened from the stem of 'karo-s lieb' (Stokes 70) = Lat. *carus*. The stem is found in Irish in the Milan glosses—'carthaig (gl. amantes) Ml. 52 r. *carthacha* (gl. affecta) 66 r.' (Z² 810)—and the Lebor na hUidre—*cartach* (Windisch's *Wörterb.*).

With the form of substantive cf. *derti*, which suggests that *cār-tis* is formed direct from *cār* : for suffix *-tis* added to a nominal stem cf. Lat. *Carmen-tis*. The same stem, apparently the same noun, enters into the name of the British queen Cartimandua or Cartismandua.

Caticatōnā (A 2). Name of a goddess, 'Very white'. Voc. sing. of *Caticatōnā*, which is possibly the fem. of an adj., as the corresponding masc. ending *-onu* occurs in Sequanian names of months.

I regard this as representing an earlier *Cntacntona*, from 'knta mit' (Stokes 94) and 'kn[s]to-s weiss' (Stokes 90). *knta* = 'Gaulish' *canta*, *cata*- (Stokes 94), Ir. *céad* in *céadfadh*, O. Ir. *cét*, O. Welsh *cant*, Corn. *cans*, Breton *gant*, *-cent*, Gr. *kará*. *kn[s]to-s* = 'Gaulish' *canto*- in 'Cantobennicus Name eines Berges in der Auvergne' (Stokes 90), Corn. *cant*, Breton *-cant*.

In the Kymric languages *n* does not go out before *t*: in the Goidelic it does, with lengthening of previous vowel. In Pictavian of the date of our tablet, *n* still remains in terminations (*hei-ont*, *ti-ont*, *tei-ontes*, *carta-ont*, *uzietia-o[nt]*), also in *atan-ta* and *Pontidunna*. Its absence in *Caticatona* may be due either to the commencement of a tendency to disappear, or to the possibility that in Pictavian *n* was *never* represented by *an* but only by *a*.

The Kymric representative of the stem should be *Canticant*, and we find that in the name of Canticantus, now Arcueil-Cachan (Holder) just south of Paris. The meaning of it should consequently be equally applicable to a village and to a fountain-goddess, and this condition is fulfilled by our derivation (with Canticantus cf. Alba Longa 'the long white street').

For the intensive force of *cati* cf. Greek *kará* in composition with

¹ In the insular Pictish inscriptions on the Shevack stone we have this adjective in the masc. gen. sing. both as *uaur* (= mhaur) and *vor* (= mhor).

adjectives: indeed Liddell and Scott give, though without reference, a Byzantine *κατάλευκος* 'very white'. The change of *cata* to *cati* is due to dissimilation.

ciälli. 'Of thought'. Gen. sing. of *ciallo(s)*, subst. The nom. is found in Sequanian (Coligny calendar, Espérandieu's restoration, top of col. 9) in a sentence beginning CIALLOS B[V]IS, '(The) aggregate is' or, less probably, '(The) meaning is'. In Irish we have *ctall* (fem.), gen. *céille*, 'Verstand, Sinn' (Stokes 58) and *ciall*, 'sammeln' (Stokes 85). The former of these Stokes refers to an earlier *qeislā*, from '*qeitō verstehe', which again is from '*qei scheinen, wahrnehmen'. The latter he refers to an earlier **qeislo-*, from *kī* or *qī* 'sammeln'. But is not 'putting together' the root-meaning of both?

Prof. J. Morris Jones tells me that the change of *ei* to *ia* in Irish is only before a 'broad' vowel, not before *e* or *i*. But (1) as, under influence of English, Highland Gaelic tends to substitute the stem-vowel of the nominative for that of the genitive, so may Pictavian have done under influence of Latin: (2) *ciallicarti* may perhaps be a single word, arising out of *ciallocarti*.

The *p* of Welsh *prwyll*, Corn. *pull*, Breton *poell* (Stokes 58), proves a *q*-root for *ctall*, gen. *céille*, and for *cialli* here. So that Sequanian and Pictavian agree with the Goidelic languages (against 'Gaulish' and the other Kymric languages) in not changing Indo-European initial *q* to *p*. In Irish it is now represented by *c* (as here), but the inscriptions also give *q*. *Q* is likewise found in Sequanian (Coligny calendar), interchanging with Indo-European *c* (*Quitos* and *Cutios*), and also in *quimon*, which I take to be an adjective from the same stem as Lat. *quin-us*: but comparison with *ciallos* suggests that as early as the date of the Coligny calendar (1st cent. A.D.?) Sequanian *q* was becoming *c*.

clōtuvlā (A 3-4). 'Flow-strong, strongly flowing'. Nom. sing. fem. of adj. *clōtuvl-ō(s)*, -ā, (-ōn?). The first element in the compound is a subst. *clōtus*, akin to 'kloutā Flussname' i.e. Tacitus's *Clota*, Ptolemy's *Κλωτα*, Welsh *Clut*, Ir. *Clúath*, *Cluad*, our *Clyde* (Stokes 102, Holder I. 1046): this is assigned to a root found in Gr. *κλύ-δων*, *κλύ-ζω*, Lat. *clu-o* (= *purgo*), *cloaca* (also *clouaca*). The second element is the stem '*vala: *vla mächtig sein' (Stokes 262), found in Lat. *valere*, and yielding *flath* 'lord' in Highland Gaelic, *flaith* in Ir., &c.: hence 'valo-s mächtig' (Stokes) which gives an ending to various Keltic person-names.

The Old British person-name *Clotual-os*, later *Clutuual*, must not be compared except for its second element, the first being the stem *clot-* 'fame' (see Stokes 102).

cōmpriātō (B 3-4). 'Beloved'. Loc.-dat. sing. masc. of past participle *cōmpriāt-ō(s)*, -ā, (-ōn?). The first element is the preposition and prefix *com* (= Lat. *com-*) found in 'Gaulish', Irish, Old British, Old Breton—Welsh *cym-*, *cyf-*, &c. (Stokes 86, Z² 871, 901). For the second element see below under *priavimo*.

deei (A 6). 'Goddess'. Voc. sing. of *deei(s)* = *deis*. For the *de-* stem

cf. (Lat. *dē-us*) in Irish the following cases of *dta* 'god' — gen. *dēi*, dat. and acc. *dea*, voc. *dē*, gen. pl. *dea*, dat. pl. *dēib*, acc. pl. *deo*. *Deis* seems also to be found in the Umbrian or early Latin inscription quoted by Conway, *Italic dialects*, I. p. 434 (no. 6), where we have dat. sing. fem. *dei*.

dēmtī (A 4). 'Servants'. Nom. pl. masc. }
 (= *dēmtī*) } of adj. *dēmti-o(s)*, -a,
dēmtiā (A 10). 'Servant'. Nom. sing. fem. } (-on ?).
dēmtis (A 3, B 11). 'To servants'. Dat. }
 pl. masc. (= *dēmtīs*) }

The stem is given by Stokes (141) as '(*dama), *damnô* bändige, *damô* dulce'. Gr. *δαμάω*, Lat. *dōmo*, Ger. *zahn*, Eng. *tame* are related.

The adj. is formed from a past part. *dēmtos*, which comes either direct from the stem *dem-* or else = *dēmētos* (cf. Gr. *ἀ-δαμῶτος*, Lat. *domitus*).

Among the Celtic derivatives of the stem may be mentioned Highland Gaelic *damh* 'ox' (also 'stag'), O. Ir. *dam* 'ox', *damnaim* 'I bind to', O. Welsh *dometic* 'gezähmt' (cf. DOMETOS on a London inscription — Holder I. 1302). I have thought it to be also present in the name of the *Demetae* of South Wales, and their country *Demetia* (now Dyfed) — that they were the *subject-race*: but see p. 15 for another view. Ptolemy indeed is made to call them the *Δημητῆραι*, but the shortness of both *e*'s is shown by the mediaeval Welsh *Dyuet* — see Z² 85, 96.

The gen. *Demeti* in a British Latin inscription quoted by Holder from Rhys gives a nom. *Demet(i)os* or *Demet(i)us*, and the 4th Amélie-les-Bains tablet begins with *Demeti*.

dērti (B 10). 'Tribute, due'. Loc.-dat. sing. of masc. subs. *dertis*. The primary stem is *dēr-*, Stokes's 'déro-s gebührend, schuldig': for *-tis* see above under *carti* (at end). Hence Ir. *dtr* 'proper' (later *dīor*) and *dīre* 'a due', Welsh *dir* 'certain, necessary' and *dirwy* 'a fine'.

Dībōnā (A 5-6). Name of a fountain-goddess, 'Brilliant'. Voc. sing. of *Dībōnā*, which is possibly the fem. of an adj. (see above under *Caticatona*).

This is Ausonius's fountain-deity *Dīvōnā* (see above, p. 132), but we cannot be sure that the quantity of the *-a* was not accommodated by him to Latin practice and the exigence of the metre. He explains the name as 'Celtarum lingua fons addite divis' — in other words he derived it from the stem of 'deivo-s, divo-s Gott', and so does Stokes (144), taking this from earlier '*dei strahlen'.

The *b* demands attention, and is paralleled by the stem *tarb-* found in Pictavian where Parisian seemingly had *tarv-* (see above, p. 131). The question of the relations of *b* and *v* in ancient Celtic names is much too large to be approached here; but I suspect that in *tarv-* and *Divona* the sound of Lat. *v* (Eng. *w*) is meant, and in *tarb-* and *Dibona* that of Eng. *v*.

Compare Ptolemy's *Δηοῦα* (= *Dewa*), the name (in gen. case) of two rivers in Britain, the Pictish *Dee* and the Welsh.

ēhō (B 5). 'This'. Acc. sing. masc. for *ēhōn*, as in the 1st Amélie-les-Bains tablet *Lerano* for *Leranon*. The stem is seen in Lat. *ec-ce*

(Lindsay 617, 432), Gr. *ékēi*, Oscan *eko-* 'this', fem. *eka-* (Conway, *Italic dialects*, II. 614, 478).

The passage of the original *c* through *ch* into *h* is illustrated by the case of the insular Pictish name Necton (for which see Stokes in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XVIII. 107). On the Lunasting stone that name appears in the genitive as *Nehhtonn*: see pp. 71-3, and my *Vernacular inscriptions of the ancient kingdom of Alban*, 4, 30, 57, where I have guessed the date at about 680 or so—that it is comparatively early is suggested by its preserving a genitive in *-s*. In 731 Bede gives the same name as *Naiton*, from which even the *h* has disappeared. Compare also the *Vacalus* of Caesar (*B. G.* IV. 10 § 1) and the *Vahalis* of Tacitus (*Ann.* II. 6).

ēhziā (B 2)

(?) *h-e(i)ziō* (B 2-3) } 'To-day'. Adv. of time.

The first element in these is the stem referred to in the last paragraph. For absence of connecting vowel cf. Lat. *ec-ce*, and it may be mentioned that Oscan has a fem. sing. *ek* (Conway, *Italic dialects*, II. 614, I. 111).

The initial *h*—if correct—in *h-e(i)zio* may be merely to prevent hiatus: cf. *eti h-eiōnt* (A 2), *poura h-eiōnt* (A 9), and see *h*—. If the rest of the word is to be read *ezio*, the middle *h* has simply disappeared: if with M. Jullian we read an *i* before the *z*, then the disappearance of the *h* has been accompanied by compensatory diphthongizing of the *ē*. But the true reading may be *ehzio* or *hehziō*¹.

The second stem in the form before us is *zā* or *ziō* = 'day', i. e. *dā* (for *dāya*) or *dāo*. For the change of *d* see under *mezio*, *uzietiao[nt]*, *ziati*, and *ziia*. The variation between the endings *-zia* and *-zio* may be due either to substitution of vowel (cf. *atanta* and *atanto*) or to the one representing an *-a-* and the other an *-o-* stem. Stokes (145) gives two stems (1) 'dijas- (dejes?) Tag', whence Ir. *die*, *dia*, and (2) 'divo-Tag', whence Ir. *in-diu* 'hodie' and Welsh *dyw*—cf. also Lat. *dñū* 'by day'.

In Highland Gaelic and Irish the 'infection' of *d* is to *dh*, now pronounced as *gh* or *y*, but doubtless originally as *ð*, between which and *z* the distance is very slight—thus our English 'the', = *ðə*, is liable to be pronounced by foreigners as *zə*.

h-eiōnt (A 2, 9). 'Continuing, continual'. Nom. sing. fem. present part. of 'eimi (gehe, bin)' (Stokes 25) or rather of the *-o* form *eiō*. The corresponding Greek and Latin participial stems are *ivv-*, *ivnt-*, *ēvnt-*, but Lat. *eo* is 'from *ēy-ō instead of I.-Eur *ei-mi (Lindsay 456)—cf. (ib.) 'īs, older *e-is*', 'it, older *e-it*', 'i-mus, older *ei-mus*', 'i-tis, older *ei-tis* (with *ei-* again for *i-*)'. Mediaeval and Modern Keltic derivatives of this stem are given by Stokes, and by Macbain (under *eith*). The initial *h* must have been originally added merely to prevent hiatus (see *h*—), but in early 5th cent. Biturigan (see p. 113) we have the imper. *hei* (= Lat. *ē*) beginning a sentence.

¹ M. Jullian has since published, in the *Revue des études anciennes* for Jan.-Mar. 1900, a tablet from Eyguières (Bouches-du-Rhône). Its 2nd word is *IHKZIO*, which I read *eikzio*, with *II* = *E*, followed by horizontal —.

ētī (A 2). 'Still, ever'. Adv. of time. Cf. Sansk. *ati* 'over', Gr. *ἐτι*, Lat. *et*. It is worth considering whether *etic* in the Alise inscription (Stokes's no. 18) does not = this word + *-c* 'and', Lat. (*-que* and also) *-c* in *nec* and *ac* (Lindsay 122), Ir. *-ch* in *nach* (Stokes 62).

gōvisā (A 8). 'Joyous'. Voc. sing. fem. of *gōvisō(s)*, *-ā*, (*-ōn*?). Cf. Lat. *gāvisus*, *-ā*, *-ūm*, past part. of *gaudeo* 'for **gāvī-d-eo*' (Lindsay 479). The same root gives in Greek γηθέω (Dor. γαθέω), ἁ-γανός, γαῖπος &c. (see Prellwitz), and in Ir. *guaire* 'noble' from original *gourios* (Stokes 112).

h (A 2, 9). Inserted perhaps to prevent hiatus between two words forming one idea (A 2 *eti h-eiont* 'ever-continuing', A 9 *poura h-eiont* 'maiden-continual=ever-virgin'). Its insertion in B 2, where they do not form one idea, is doubtful. But see previous note on *h-eiont*.

Imōnā (B 11). Name of a goddess, 'Deep-dwelling'. Voc. sing. of *Imōnā*, which is possibly the fem. of an adj. (see *Caticatona*). The stem is that of the Lat. *imus*, 'lowest', which probably = *inf-mus*, as *quinus* = *quincmus*, and as (I hold) in Sequanian *quimon* = *quincmon*.

mēziō (B 8). 'Middle'. Temporal-dat. of *mēziō(s)*, *-ā*, (*-ōn*?), for *medios* &c. For the stem see Stokes 207: in 'Gaulish' as in Latin it is *medio-*, in Ir. *med-*, *mid-*.

nōi (B 5). 'We-two'. Nom. dual of pronoun of 1st person. Sansk. *nāu*, Gr. *ᾠῷ*, *ᾠῶ*. And Irish has a gen. *nāthar* 'of us two' equated by Stokes (194) with Gr. *ᾠῶτερος*, the adj. of *ᾠῷ*.

ōraiimō (B 1, 9). 'We-pray'. 1st pers. pres. ind. act. of *ōraiō*.

From the root of 'ōro- (ōrā?) Gebet' (Stokes 51), i.e. of Lat. *orō* (= *ōrāyō*).

pā[dv]ā (B 12). 'Quick'. Nom. pl. neut. (used adverbially) or nom. sing. fem. in apposition with *uziētiāo[nt]*.

The stem is Stokes's '⟨p⟩advo-s schnell' (28), whence the river-name Adva (now Adda) in Cisalpine Gaul (ib.). I refer to it also the name of that rapid river the Pādus with its southern outlet the Padua or Padva (see Holder), and that there were *p*-preserving Kelts even in N. Italy. [Indo-Eur.
p in Padus
and Pa-
dua?]

piā (A 6). 'Kind'. Voc. sing. fem. of *piō(s)*, *-ā*, (*-ōn*?). Lat. *pīus* is the same word, the *i* being originally long (Lindsay 131, referring to Oscan *Pilhiot* = *Pio*).

pōmmiō (B 5). 'We-drink'. 1st pers. pl. pres. ind. act. of '*⟨p⟩o, *⟨p⟩ō trinken' (Stokes 46).

The difference of termination between this and the plurals *ōraiimo* (B 1, 9), *priavimo* (B 6-7) is analogous to that in Sanskrit, where the 1st pers. pl. has both 'Primary *-mas* and *-masi*', and 'Secondary and Perfect *-ma*' (Brugmann, *Comp. gr.*, *Eng. tr.* IV. § 1002). In O. Ir. the former termination is represented by *-mī*, *-me-*, *-mmī*, *-mme*, arising out of '*-mesi (or -mēsi)', used in 'conjoined' forms: the latter by '*-m* for **-mo* or **-mos*', used in 'absolute' forms (ib. § 1006). In Pictavian the two are represented respectively by *-mmio* (present ind. absolute) and *-mo* (perfect ind. absolute and conjoined). The explanation of the *mm* in Irish is (Brugmann) that the consonant was 'a hard, not a spirant *m*'. That of the *io* (= *yo*) in *pommio* is more difficult: does it = *pommi* with *o* added under the influence of the other termination in *-mo*?

Fð(n)tīdūnnā (A 10-11). Name of a woman-servant, 'Dun-robed'. Nom. sing. fem. of *þōntīdunnō(s)*, -ā, (-ōn?).

The first element is *þontis* 'raiment', a subst. in -tis like *car-tis* and *der-tis* from the root given by Stokes (32) as '*⟨p⟩en kleiden', by Macbain (16) as *þan*, found in Highland Gaelic and Irish, but apparently not as yet in the Kymric languages. The weight of evidence both in Goidelic and in other languages (e.g. Lat. *pannus*) seems to be for *þan*. Three of the Irish derivatives exhibit a -ti- suffix.

The second element is *donnō(s)*, -ā, (-ōn?), 'dun', Stokes 'donno-s braun, dunkel' (152), Irish *donn*, Welsh *dwn*. A derivation is suggested by him from *dus-nos* (comparing Lat. *fus-cus*, Sansk. *dhūsara*, Eng. *dusk*), which favours *dunnos* as an earlier form than *donnos*. Holder derives from '*dunno-s' in this sense the proper name *Dunni(us)* found in an inscription at Lyon.

þōtēa (B 6). 'Well'. Acc. sing. for *þotean*, as in the 1st Amélie-les-Bains tablet *Dea* for *Dean*. The root is that of the word last mentioned: the stem is that of the Lat. *þūtēus* 'well', and Prof. Lindsay has repeated to me the remark of some other scholar, that an alternative *þōtēo-* stem in Italic is suggested by *Ποτίολοι*, used in Greek (as well as *Ποντεόλοι*) for Lat. *Puteoli*.

It is difficult to say whether the Pictavian substantive is of a masculine -ā- stem, *þuteā(s)* like Lat. *paricida(s)* (Lindsay 373), or whether *þotea* = *þoteō*—cf. *atanta* and *ehzia* and *e(ī)zio*.

pourā (A 9). 'Maiden'. Voc. sing. of *pourā*. Cf. Lat. *puera*, of the same meaning.

The root is '*⟨p⟩u, *⟨pou⟩ (Basis und Bedeutung zweifelhaft)'.—So Stokes 53, giving Urkelt. ⟨p⟩uero-s, Welsh *uwr* 'nepos, neptis', and equating Lat. *puer*. It is found in Greek dialects in the word for 'child' as *πὺς*, *πῦς*, whence *πά(φ)ις* (Prellwitz). Stokes (22) has equated O. Ir. *haue* 'grandson' (which has gen. *avi* in ogams), but has treated them both as from a distinct stem '⟨p⟩avio-s Enkel', which is needless.

In insular Pictish the same word as *haue* is not only found in the gen. sing. *ui* (Lunasting stone—see p. 72), loc.-dat. sing. *o* (Kilmadock stone—see p. 66), *u* (the same), but also in forms with initial *þ* on the St. Vigean's stone (*þev* = *aibh*—see pp. 74-5), and the Shevack stone (*þua*—see p. 76).

þriāvimð (B 6-7). 'We-have-loved'. 1st pers. pl. perf. ind. act. from *þriāð* or *þriāmī*.

The root is that given by Stokes (233) as '*⟨p⟩rī lieben', whence Ir. *riar* 'will, pleasure', Sansk. 'prīṇāti erfreuen, priyate befriedigt sein', Old Slav. 'prijeti günstig sein', and Gothic *frijōn* 'to love'.

The same verb compounded with *com* is found in *compriato* (B 3-4). And, as the root does not exist in Latin, the two forms cannot be alleged to be borrowed thence (as *þia*, *þotea*, *þoura*, *þura* might be) but are decisive proofs of the conservation of Ind.-Eur. *þ* in Pictavian.

þūrā (A 7). 'Pure-one'. Voc. sing. fem. of adj. *þurō(s)*, -ā, (-ōn?). The Lat. *purus* is of course identical. The root is given as 'pû reinigen'

(Fick, *Vergleich. Wörterb.* I. 483) and Sansk. 'punāti reinigen' (Stokes 55) is connected.

sē (A 4). 'If, since'. The form represents an earlier *sei* = O. Lat. *sei* (later *st*), which is also found as *-se* in *nise* (Lindsay 611). The use of the Lat. particle with the indicative, implying that the condition is a fact, is analogous to the use of *se* here, where it is followed by an indicative.

The root is the pronoun *so- (Lindsay 610), for which in Keltic see Stokes (292) and Macbain (269).

sīē (A 3, B 11). 'Be'. 2nd pers. sing. pres. opt. from root *es* 'to be', for earlier *stēs* = O. Lat. *stēs* (Lindsay 513). For the root in Keltic see Stokes (44) and Macbain (197, under *is*).

The difference between the use of *bi* and *sie*—which may or may not be accidental—is that the former is used absolutely, and the latter as the sequel to a condition fulfilled.

sōsīō (A 6, 7, 9, B 4, 10). 'This'. Instr.-loc.-dat. sing. masc. of *sōsīōs*, *-ā*, (*-ōn?*), demonstr. adj.. The *š* is really a spirant, and the word scans as a dissyllable—see p. 153.

This adjective is already well known from 'Gaulish' inscriptions: the following are the instances in those interpreted by Stokes. (6) COCIN NEMHTON 'this temple', 'for *sosion*' (Stokes, comparing O. Lat. *alis*, *alid* for *alius*, *aliud*): (18) SOSIN CELICNON 'this tower' (25) BVSCILLA SOSIO LEGASIT 'Buscilla placed this' (neut. for *sosion*—not 'Buscilla Sosio placed (this)', as Stokes).

The word is reduplicated from the pronominal stem 'so(sjo)' (Macbain 291, under *sin*): cf. Eng. 'this here', Fr. *ceci*. For 'sjo, Fem. sjā Pro-nomen demonstrativum' in Keltic see Stokes 317.

sūā (A 10). 'His'. Nom. sing. fem. of possessive pron. *sūō(s)*, *-ā*, (*-ōn?*). Lat. *suus* is of course the same word, and Gr. *éōs* (= *σέφος*) related, the stem being Ind.-Eur. *sēwō- (Lindsay 426).

This pronoun seems to be lost in the mediaeval Keltic languages; and, although we have Ir. *-s* 'he', *st* 'she', *su* 'them', and similar forms (Stokes 292), they are referred to a *se-* (*swe-*) or *so* (*swo*) stem, with Lat. *sui*, *sibi*, *se* (see Stokes, Lindsay 424, Fick, *Vergleich. Wörterb.* I. 578).

Sūeiō (A 8). Name of a man, 'Boarlike'. Nom. sing. masc. of *sueiō(s)*, *-ā*, (*-ōn?*). The root is that of Lat. *sū-s*, Gr. *ῥs*, O. H. G. *sū*: in the mediaeval Keltic languages it seems only to appear in the secondary stem *sukku-* (Stokes 305, Macbain 301), giving Ir. *socc* 'snout', mod. Ir. *suig* 'pig', Welsh *hŵch*, Corn. *hoch*, Bret. *houc'h*. For the termination see Holder under *-eio-* and cf. *Tarbei-* for *Tarbeio-* above, p. 130.

tē (B 2, 3, 6). 'Thee'. Acc. of pron. of 2nd pers. sing. Lat. *tē* is the same word, the nom. being Ind.-Eur. *tū, preserved in O. Ir. *tū*, Welsh *tī*, Corn. *ty*, *te*, Bret. *te* (Macbain 341, Stokes 134). But in these other Keltic languages the oblique cases have been lost.

teu (B 1, 9). 'Swell!' 2nd pers. sing. imper. act. Found in the 1st and 3rd Amélie-les-Bains tablets as TIV. The Ind.-Eur. root is 'tevā: tū schwellen; stark sein' (Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.* I. 61), which gives in Irish 'teo Stärke, Kraft' (Stokes 131), and the *tu-meo* group in

Latin, while in Lithuanian 'tvanas, Fluth' (Fick l. c.) it is applied to the swelling of water.

For the unthematic bare tense-stem as imperative act. in Greek, Latin and O. Irish see Brugmann, *Comp. gr., Eng. tr.* IV. 497.

teĩðnte (B 7-8). 'Going-round'. of *teĩð*, *tĩð*, 'I go-round'.
 Nom. dual or pl. masc. pres. part. act. } The stem is found in the com-
tiðt (A 8). 'Goes-round'. 3rd pers. } pound imperative *apelei*, *apele*,
 sing. pres. ind. act. } 'circle-hither', in the 1st Amélie-
tĩðnt (A 4). 'Go-round'. 3rd pers. } les-Bains tablet. For the same
 pl. pres. ind. act. } substantival stem see p. 125.

Probably they walked round the well, reciting the charm¹, before they threw the tablet in.

tis-sǽ (B 6). 'Of thyself, thy-own'. Gen. of pron. of 2nd pers. sing. *tũ-sǽ*.

For the first part of this pronoun see *tē* above, and for the form of the gen. cf. O. Lat. *tis*.

The second part is the suffix so often attached to *tũ* in O. Ir. in the forms *su*, *so* (Z² 325), and to the first person in the forms *sa*, *se* (Z² 324, Macbain 269).

uziĩetiāð[nt] (B 12). 'Outreaching'. Nom. sing. fem. pres. part. act. of *uziĩetiao* = *ud-iĩetiao*, as *ziia* = *diia*.

The first part of the compound is 'ud, od aus, Präfix' (Stokes 54). In Highland Gaelic *ud* = 'out' is referred by Macbain to Norse *út*. But in O. Ir. *ud-* is found in *uccu* (Stokes, 'aus *ud-gus'), and *-od-* in various compounds (Z² 885). Breton has *ut-*. The Sansk. is *ud*.

The second part is a vb. *iĩetiāð* from the root '*jat streben' (Stokes 222), found in 'gall. Ad-iatunnus, Add-iatu-marus' and Welsh *add-iad* 'desire' (ib.). A *iet-* stem is also found (see Holder) in *Ad-ietuanus*, king of the Sotiates (Sos, dep. Gers., S.W. France) and *Su-ietius*.

The *ii*, if not an error for *i*, = *iy-*. Cf. *ziia*, and Welsh *tā*, *tĩ*, if from Stokes's *ja* (222).

Vouseia (A 11). '[Daughter-] of-Vous(s)'. Nom. sing. fem. of adj. in *-eið(s)*, *-ā*, *(-ðn?)* from *Vousð(s)*.

The latter name may just possibly = an earlier *vouksos* (cf. *ehzia* for *ek-zia*). Can that = 'Ir. oss (aus *uksos) . . . , cervus', which Stokes (267) derives from a root '*veg (: *ug)'?

ziāti (B 8). 'Daily'. Adv. of time = *ziāti(n)*, analogous to a possible Lat. *dĩatim*. For the stem see *ehzia*.

ziia (B 9). 'Day'. Temporal-dat. of stem *ziia* = *diya* 'day' (see under *ehzia*).

Coins of
Pictavian
princes.

So much for the story told by the inscriptions commonly so called. I come next² to the coins of 3 Pictavian princes,

¹ The first word in the 1st Amélie-les-Bains tablet is KANTAMVS, with AMV ligatured.

² I omit the Keltic names found on Latin inscriptions, or on pottery, in Poitou on account of the uncertainty that the persons who bore them were native to the district.

as described in Muret and Chabouillet, *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*.

The first of these, following the order of the catalogue, is ^{VIREDI-}VIREDISOS or VIREDIOS, which suggest that intervocalic *s* had ^{(s)OS} already begun to disappear—as it has in Irish—though doubtless it previously became *h*. The name is doubtless connected with *Virдумarus*, *Virdomarus*, *Viridomarus*, *Virido-*vix, and perhaps with Lat. *viridis* (see Stokes 281 under 'virjó-s grün': the root-meaning might be 'to grow').

The name of the second prince appears as DVRAT and on ^{DVRAT} the reverse of the coin is IVLIOS, which identifies him as the Pictavian king Duratius who was an ally of the Romans. The full name of the king would be *Duratios*, which would mean '[chief-] of-the-fort-dwellers'. The stem 'dûro- hart, Festung' (Stokes 151), = 'gall. dûron „arx“ in Augusto-d., Boio-d., Brivo-d., Epo-manduo-d.' (ib.), with the ethnic suffix *-ate-* would give Durates 'Fort-dwellers', whence the adj. *Duratios*.

The name of the last of the three was either¹ Vepotalo(s) ^{VIIPOTALO} or Viipotalo(s), whose coins have the legends VIIPOTAL or ... POTALO. It means 'Raven-browed', and is also found in a Styrian inscription which begins ADIATVLLVS · VEPOTALI · F · (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* III. 5350). The second part of it is from 'talo-s Stirn' (Stokes 124), whence 'gall. talos in Cassi-talos, Dubno-talos' (ib.), Welsh, Cornish, and Bret. *tal*, Ir. *tul*. The first part is from Indo-Eur. *veipo-s* 'raven', given by Stokes as 'veiko-s Rabe' with reference to 'ir. flach M. Rabe' (263).

The ascertainment of the true prototype of *vepo-* and of ^{The *vepo-* stem.} various allied forms will lead to such remarkable results that the reader must forgive me for going into it in detail.

The stem is the same as that of 'véipô schwingen' (Fick, ^{It contains Ind.-Eur. *p*.} *Vergl. Wörterb.* I. 126) whence Sansk. 'vep . . . zittern', O. Norse 'veifa vibrare agitare', O. H. G. 'weibôn schweben, schwanken' (ib.): in Lat. *vibrare*, however, the *b* is difficult (ib.). The name = Flapper.

The word appears first in Italy in the Verona inscription '*Vepisones*' (Stokes's no. 3), where we have '*Vepisones*, gen. sg. of ^{at Verona.} *Vepi-sona*' i.e. 'Raven-voiced'. The inscription is written

¹ *II* was common for *E* in Roman inscriptions. Pauli, who regards it as *ii* in Venetic (*Altit. Forschungen*, III. 91), takes it to = *i* in the Alise inscription (Stokes's 18) in the names DVGIIONTIO and ALISIIA (ib. 88).

from right to left, and is consequently very early: I find in it strong confirmation of my suspicion (see above under **pa[dr]a**) that there were *p*-preserving Kelts in Cisalpine as well as in Transalpine Gaul. For the meaning of the name cf. Tarbeisonos 'Bull-voiced' implied in Tarbeisonios.

vipiones
in the
Balearic
Isle.

That the *vēpo*- or *vīpo*-stem indicated a bird is also confirmed by the fact that Pliny (X. 49 [69]) mentions *vipiones* as a kind of birds in the Balearic isles: 'sic vocant minorem gruem', he says—and the *vīpio* may have been so called from looking like a long-legged raven.

'*Vepi*' at
Landecy.

Coming to Gaul, we find the genitive *Vepi* at Landecy, a league S. of Geneva (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* XII. 2623), and at Geneva itself the adjectival form *Vipius* in the name of a freedman (ib. 2590): Geneva is only 41 miles from Coligny, where Ind.-Eur. *p* was preserved. The region was Allobrogic.

'*Vepo-*
mulus.'

Stokes¹ (Bezzenger's *Beiträge*, XVIII. 112) and Holder (under *mulo*-) give Vepomulus, but without reference. And, if from Epomulus (= equo-mulus) it be argued that *vepos* is the name not of a bird but a quadruped, let me observe that the derivation of *mulus* is still unknown. See also p. 180.

'*Vep*' in
Yorkshire.

In Britain we find VEP CORF i.e. VEP · COR · F · on coins discovered in Yorkshire, which may contain the stem—if any non-Kymric Kelts lived in that part. But an undoubted instance of it is found in the Colchester engraved tablet, of which a photograph is reproduced on p. 326 of Prof. Rhys's paper previously mentioned, put up by a NEPOS · VEPOGENI · CALEDO between the years 222 and 235: see p. 55. *Vepo-gen(us)* of course means 'Raven's offspring', and Prof. Rhys² admits the Caledonians to have been Picts (ib. 329).

'*Vepogeni*'
among the
Caledoni-
ans.

'*Uip*'
among the
insular
Picts.

Not only was Vepogen(us) an insular Pictish name, but among the lists of insular Pictish kings we find *Uip* (Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, 5, 26, 325, 397) i.e. 'Raven', and a later one whose name is given as *nainet* or *Vipoig namet*, *Vipo ignainet*, *Poponeuet*, *Wmpopwall*, *Verpempnet*, *Vipoguenech* and *Uipo ignauit* (ib. 6, 27, 149, 172, 200, 285, 398). I have suggested (p. 58) that the original reading was *Vip Ognemet*,

¹ I owe my references for all the proper names quoted either to Stokes (loc. cit.) or to Rhys (*Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXXII. 328, in a paper he kindly gave me).

² He does not, however, admit that the insular Picts were Kelts, but supposes this name to be borrowed from a Gallo-'Brythonic' source.

and it is quite clear that they contain the stem *Uip-* or *Vip-*. Now in three of these cases the name is followed by that of another king reigning just the same number of years (30), and called 'Fiacua albus' (149), 'Fiacha albus' (172), and 'Fiachna le blank' (200) or 'Fyahor albus'; and Stokes has seen that these entries are really only glosses on the preceding name (Bezzenger's *Beiträge*, XVIII. 112). Clearly insular Pictish *vip-* = Ir. *fiach-*, and we know that one meaning of Ir. *fiach* is 'raven'.

Now *veik-* would naturally become *fiach*, and, if *fiach* does ^{Ir. *fiach* = *veipak-*} not stand for *veik-*, what does it stand for? I say that it stands for *veipak-*: see pp. 180-1 on Welsh *gwyach*. I have called *veip-* 'raven', but it may be 'rook' or 'crow', and from it might be formed the secondary stem *veipak-* = 'crow-like' and so = 'raven', giving Ir. *fl[p]ach*. If any one asks for a parallel, let him turn to Stokes 64, where he will find 'ka(p)ero-s Bock' followed by the secondary 'ka(p)erak-s Schaf' i.e. a horned breed.

I pass to the place-names found in Longnon's map of Gaul under the Romans (*Atlas hist. de la France*, pl. II).

Aunedonacum is a derivative of the man's name Aunedo(n) ^{Pictavian place-names in Longnon.} found at Reims (Holder), and that from the stem of 'aunio-s grün' (Stokes 4) with the common suffix -edo (see Holder). For similar colour-names cf. Candiedo, Donnado, Vindedo, Viredo. Modern name, Aulnay (-de-Saintonge).

Brigiosum is from 'brgi Berg' (Stokes 171) and means 'Hilly'. Modern name, Brioux.

Lemonum or *Limonum* is the neut. of an adj. in -ono-, -onu-, from the stem of 'leimâ Linde' (Stokes 242, Macbain 203), and means Lindenham: cf. Welsh *llwyf*.

The stem of *Locodiacus* is found also as Logotigiac- and Locoteiac-, all three forms appearing to be of the 6th cent.. It is *lucot-* 'mouse', for which see Holder (II. 303) and Stokes (244), and the site either swarmed with mice or was named after a chief Lucoteios. Modern name, Ligugé.

Ratiate quite obviously means 'the place of the embankment' or 'the place of the earthen wall' (see the beginning of this Appendix). Modern name, Rézé.

Rauranum or *Rāraunum*, placed by Longnon at Sainte-Soline, but at Rom by Holder and M. Blumereau—who adds

that there is a place there called 'les ouches à rainettes', and suggests a connexion between Rauranum and *rana*. I agree, comparing also Lat. *rau-us* 'hoarse', *rau-is* 'hoarseness': and the name may be Latin, not Pictavian.

Segora is either from '*seg säen' (Stokes 294, quoting Lat. *seges*) or from 'sego- Gewalt, Sieg' (id. 297) which forms such a common part of 'Gaulish' proper names, e. g. Segobriga and Segomaros. For the suffix *-or-* or *-ur-* see Z² 779 (e. g. Lesora, Lactora).

To these must be added, from Longnon's *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, as probably Pictavian:

Arbatilicum (Herbauge), inhabited perhaps (Longnon) by the *Aremorican* Lemovices of Caesar (*B. G.* VII. 75, 4). The name seems to be late for Atrebatilicum, 'the immigrants' land', as we have Caleba Arbatium for C. Atrebatium in the Ravenna geographer (5, 51—Holder I. 271).

Becciacus (Bessay). Doubtless, as Holder takes it, named from a man Beccius = 'Beaky', from *beccos* 'beak' (Holder I. 364, Stokes 166).

Castrum *Sellus* (Chantoceaux). 'Usque ad Sellus castrum' (574) suggests an acc. pl. of *Sellos*, like Parisius, Pictavus. The place is on a hill 79 m. above the sea, and I suspect that the *Selli* were 'look-out-men', from Stokes's 'stilnaô (oder stilniô) ich sehe' (313) which gives in Irish 'sell Auge, sellaim ich sehe an'.

Vogladensis campus. If the *g* is radical, I can only look to '*veg . . . netzen' (Stokes 266), which gives 'vegro- Gras' and 'voglo- Harn' (ib.), and suppose that the place had a system of irrigation. But there is another form *Voclad-*, and, although the 7th cent. MSS. of Gregory of Tours do not support it, they have both *Mecledonensem* and *Miglidunensem*. Hence Ir. 'fochlaid Höhle' (Stokes 82), which postulates earlier *Voclad-*, may be akin. In that case Pictavian would have lost medial *p* in *upo-* before 576: see pp. 31, III, 115.

Vultaconnum (Voultegon). Cf. 'Mediconnum', just outside Pictavian territory (now Mougou). Both are in the angle of a confluence; *Medi-* suggests 'middle'; and *conn-* suggests *cond-* in *Condate*, which is recognized by Holder as meaning a place at the junction of two rivers. And we now see that *Condate* is an adj. in *-atis* from a stem *cond-* 'junction', formed from

con- 'together' and the shortened stem *d-* 'put' seen in Lat. *con-do*. The loss of root-vowel in Latin is certain in *con-do*, *-is*, *-it*, *-unt* (Brugmann, *Comp. gram.*, *Eng. tr.* I. 71) and possible in all other parts of the verb, while it is equally clear in the derived Plautine substantive *condus* = 'qui condendis cibis praepositus est'. Consequently *Vulta-* = *Volta-* from Stokes's '*vel ... umgeben' (275), and the entire name means 'encircled by the confluence'.

The following are quoted by Holder (II. 989-90) from Gregory of Tours and Fortunatus, both 6th cent. writers:

'G(C)racina Pictavensis insula' (*Greg. Tur.*, *Hist. Fr.* v. 30 *Gracina*(?) [48]). From the context it seems that the slave of a fiscal vine-dresser lived there. For older *Cracina* Arndt gives *Gracina* without various reading: does it = the 'gracilis ager' of the Elder Pliny, or the 'graci-les vindemiae' of the Younger?

'In villa Suedas (*Saix*) Pictavo territorio' (*Fort.*, *Vit. Suedas. Radegund.* I. 15, 35). Probably from *sū-* 'swine', seen above in *Sueio*, and the stem of '*edō* ... ich esse' (Stokes 29)—'the place where swine feed'. *sū-* 'swine' may also be present in *Suessiones* (*ss* = *dt*? 'Swine-eaters'?), and doubtless is in *S[u]belino*, 'Bright-coloured boar'—cf. *Cunobelinus* 'Bright-coloured hound'¹—and probably *Suobnedo*, 'Terrible boar'.

The stem *sū-*, 'swine', in proper names.

The names of the people itself remain. They were the Pictōnes², Pēctōnes, Pictāvi, or Pēctāvi. The termination -ōnes was common in names of Keltic peoples: Z² 772 gives Lingōnes, Senōnes, Turōnes, Santōnes, Rhedōnes, Kentrōnes. The termination -āvo- was also extremely common—for its use in tribal names cf. *Nemetavi* and *Segusiavi* (Z² 783 and Holder). We are accordingly reduced to a stem *Pīct-* or *Pēct-*. These two forms suggest Ind.-Eur. *peik-*; is there such a root? There is. In Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* vol. I we have a

The names of the Pictavian people

are from a stem *Pīct-* or *Pēct-* and Ind.-Eur. root *peik-*.

¹ The real meaning of *Cuno-* and its correlatives in proper names is shown by Gildas, who (writing before 548) is made by the MSS.—the earliest of which is 11th cent.—to address *Cuneglasus* as '*Cuneglase, Romana lingua lanio fulve*' (32). I pointed out in *The Academy* for Oct. 12, 1895 that *lanio* is corrupted from *canis*, written with square L which was mistaken for L. The staghound, boarhound, and wolfhound were the ancient Kelt's types of swiftness, strength, and bravery, and in Old Irish the proper name *Cú* 'Hound' is well-known.

² The length of the *i* is shown by an early 2nd cent. Poitiers inscription (CIL XIII. 1129 and Holder II. 1001) which writes *CIVITAS PICTONM*.

‘Wortschatz der westeuropäischen Spracheinheit (der Griechen, Italiker, Kelten, Germanen)’, and therein on p. 472 we have ‘peik- stechen, sticken’, among the derivatives of which are ‘Pictavian’ ποικίλος, πικρός, and Sansk. *piç*. The name of the Pictavians, and and ‘Pict’ mean that of the insular Picts, means ‘Tattooed’¹. Have we any ‘Tattooed.’ Evidence that they did tattoo? As regards the insular Picts that the insular Picts Evidence that the insular Picts tattooed. may have meant, is hardly to be severed from the name of the Pictones of ancient Gaul’, and has given excellent reasons why it cannot be derived from Lat. *pictus*, brushes aside the testimony of Claudian

Testimony of Claudian, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsangues Picto moriente figuras

as probably suggested by a false derivation². But there is earlier and far stronger evidence than Claudian’s. The Greek historian Herodian was a contemporary of Severus, whose expedition against the northern Britons he describes, and, as he wrote best part of a century before the name of the insular Picts is found in literature, he is not likely to have been influenced in his physical description of the people by a false derivation of that name. These are his words (III. 14 § 8):

and of Herodian.

τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ζῳὼν παντοδάπων
εἰκόσω· ὅθεν οὐδ’ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ σκέπωσι τοῦ σώματος
τὰς γραφάς.

Similar meaning of name
‘Cruithne’.

After this few, I think, will doubt that *Cruithne*, the Irish for Pict, has the meaning given to it by Duald Mac Firbis:

Cruithneach (Pictus) neach do gabhadh crotha no dealbha
anmann, eun, agus iasg, ar a eineach, i. ar a aighidh: agus
gidh ní uirre amháin acht ar a chorp uile (at end of Ir.
trans. of Nennius, p. VII)

¹ Cf. the opening words of the ‘Pictish chronicle’ (Skene’s ed. 3), ‘Picti propria lingua’—not ‘Latina lingua’—‘nomen habent a picto corpore; eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum stingmate annotantur’. Isidore of Seville had derived the name in the same way centuries earlier, but had not specified the language of it (Holder II. 995).

² But his ‘nec falso nomine Pictos’, in another passage, ought to mean that he *knew* them to be ‘pictos’. And for the meaning of *that* cf. his ‘Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus’ (*I. in Rufin.* 313).

that is

‘Cruithneach (Pictus) one who takes the *cruths* or forms of beasts, birds, and fishes on his visage, that is, his face : and yet not upon it only but on his whole body’.

Now this word *cruth* represents earlier ‘qrutu-s Gestalt’ *cruth*. (Stokes 60), and of course in Kymric this *q* becomes *p*, so that the modern Welsh analogue is ‘*prŷd* M. “forma, species, vultus”’ (ib.). Hence any non-Goidelic Gauls near Massilia (e.g. Volcae Arecomici and Helvii ?) who informed early Greek travellers and merchants would speak of the people not as the Qrtanoi, whence ‘Cruithni’, but as the Prtanoi, whence the *Pyrtanoi*. *νῆσοι Πρετανικαί* and Old Welsh Priten, modern Prydain.

Prof. Rhys in his *Rhind lectures* has called attention to the fact that in the Wessobrunner Codex at Munich, written before 814, a name equivalent to Cruithneach ‘was another name for Gallia, or a part of it’. The exact entry and those on each side of it are as follows (Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, III. 610):

‘Gallia uualholannt’ i. e. Gallia welsh-land

‘Chorthonicum auh uualholant’ i. e. Chorthonicum also welsh-land

‘Equitania uuasconolant’ i. e. Equitania gascon-land

and I suggest that the Cruithneach territory which is placed with the Gauls on one side and the Aquitanians on the other is, or includes, that of the Pictones.

Unless the work from which the scribe took these names of countries which he glossed was written by an Irishman, the name Chorthonicum must have been derived from a continental Goidelic source, other of course than that of the Pictones themselves (who did not call themselves Cortones but Pictones). Were there other Goidels in Gaul? Undoubtedly: the Sequani were Goidels, or at least the people who named the river Sequana (Stokes 295) were such, and so were the people among whom the Coligny calendar was engraved.

Other
Goidels in
Gaul.

Whether Sequanian and Pictavian were absolutely identical the materials do not enable us to decide, but any difference between them was obviously no more than a very slight dialectal one. I hold that both preserve Indo-European *p*, and represent initial Ind.-Eur. *q* by *c*, reducing an original Sequanian and Pictavian closely connected.

Both are
Goidelic.

qeislos to the same form *ciallos*. These are conclusive tests of a Goidelic language: in Irish *qeisl-* has given *ciall*, *q* has become *c*, and, though single *p* has been lost or mutated, *pp* is apparently still represented by *pp* or *p*¹.

Ancient
Keltic
must be
examined
from a
changed
standpoint.

We have seen reason to trace the *p*-preserving Kelts also on the Po and at Verona. In fact the inscriptions and proper names of the entire ancient Keltic-speaking area require to be examined from a totally changed standpoint. Hitherto it has been generally assumed that every *p* was a mutated *q* (unless borrowed from a Latin gentile name), and that on the Continent Ind.-Eur. *q* was lost altogether: it now seems that as regards a considerable part both of Gaul and of N. Italy this assumption is the direct reverse of the truth. And the results may largely affect the history of the Keltic races and speeches, and of those most nearly related to them.

Evidence
that the
Pictavians
tattooed.

I have reserved to the end the question whether there is any evidence that the Pictavians did really tattoo, because I do not for a moment allow that the derivation of their name should be considered as depending on my ability to produce such evidence. But I can produce it. In the catalogue of the Gaulish coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale the obverse of a coin of the Pictones, no. 4439, is described as 'Tête à droite, les cheveux divisés en grosses mèches; croix en relief sur la joue'. The coin is in De La Tour's atlas: the cross is not an ear-ornament, but is well on the cheek, and has a knob at each of its four ends. A similar cross is used as a symbol on coins of the Osismii and Coriosopites of Aremorica ([6522], 6537, 6578, 6584), the Caletes at the N. of the Seine's mouth (7352), the Ambiani of Amiens (8472, 8476, [8503, 8505]), the Viroduni of Verdun (8990, 8993), emigrant Senones (9275), 'Germani' (9366, 9367, carried by soldier in right hand? meant for a caltrop), 'Gaulois en Pannonie' (10157). Moreover a X is cut on the cheek in D 19 on the last plate in the atlas (Collection Danicourt, Musée de Péronne) and a + on the

¹ Stokes derives Ir. *capach* (Highland Gaelic the same) from 'keppo-s Garten' (76), Ir. *gop* from 'goppo-s Mund' (114), Ir. *tiompán* (Highland Gaelic *tiompan*) from 'temppu-Saite' (129), and Ir. *ropp* from 'ruppo-s ein stössiges Tier' (236). He also gives Ir. *crip* from '*kɪ(p) stark sein' (96) through *krippi-s* for *kɪpni-s*; Ir. *rap* (cf. Highland Gaelic *rapach* [Macbain]) as from '*re(p) packen, reissen' (226) through *rapnó-* (with intermediate *rappo-*, no doubt); and Ir. *capp* (330) from *kappo-* (prae-Keltic *kapnó-*).

hind-quarters of a horse on a British coin of Cunobelinus struck at Camulodunum (Evans IX. 9) figured on pl. XLIV.

I have run my eye over the thousands of coins in this atlas for other apparent cases of tattooing, and have found some very interesting ones. In 5318, a coin of the Sequani, ^{Tattooing among the Sequani,} a figure like a Greek 8 is cut on the bottom of a jaw: it lies on its side with the round end towards the chin. In 6913, an Aremorican coin, a head shows a design reaching from the eye ^{Aremoricans,} to the neck: it consists of waving lines with circles at their upper end. In 6933, a coin of the Unalli, who inhabited the ^{Unalli,} Cotentin, a head has on it a short sword with the hilt on the neck and the point level with the nostrils. In 6897, a coin of the Aulerici Cenoman(n)i of Maine, almost an entire cheek is scooped out into a circle, with an inner circle of dots, inside ^{Aulerici Cenoman(n)i,} which is a cock with 3 dots at the back of his head. In 6954, a coin of the Bodiocasses of Bayeux, a circle is also scooped out of the cheek, and inside it are A and 3 dots. ^{Bodiocasses,} The coins found in Jersey abound in heads with figures on the cheek. ^{and in Jersey.} Sometimes these are merely concentric circles with dots in the middle, perhaps imitated from the dots used on some Gaulish coins to indicate whiskers, but from a comparison of various obverses and reverses it is clear that he meant them to represent astronomical bodies. ^{Astronomical bodies tattooed on cheeks in Jersey.} In other cases (J. 15, 10387, J. 49, J. 50) the figure is quite certainly a three- or four-tailed comet.

It is to be noticed that except as regards the Sequanians, ^{Were all tattooed Kelts Goidels?} whom we have already had to pronounce Goidels, all these examples come from regions in the W. of Gaul—the southernmost being Poitou, which we know to have been Goidelic. Are they signs of a Goidelic race¹? If so, the Aulerici

¹ Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Etymolog.* IX. 2 § 103, 'Scoti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum stigmate annotentur'—the passage from which the opening words of the 'Pictish chronicle' have been adapted by substituting 'Picti' for 'Scoti'. The derivation of 'Scot' from a stem meaning 'cut', 'tattoo', has been suggested also in modern times: see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 237-8, and Macbain 355.

It may be urged that the Aremoricians (including the Unalli and doubtless the Bodiocasses) are shown by the dropped *p* in *p*Aremorici to have belonged to the Kymric branch. But, although I regard that name as certainly Kymric, the cases of *νήσοι Πρετ(τ)ανικαί* and *Orcades* (p. 25) show that it is no proof that the Aremoricians were Kymric. Strabo (IV. 4. 3, p. 196) makes the Belgae dwell on the coast between the Rhine and the Loire, and elsewhere (IV. 4. 1, p. 194) he calls the Veneti Belgae. The adj. Aremoric simply means 'sea-side', and Pliny (IV. 31) says that Aquitania was once called Aremorica. The name, in fact, may

The Cenomani of Cisalpine Gaul.

Cenomani or Cenomanni were Goidels, and, if they, then probably the Cenomani of Cisalpine Gaul. Now the Cenomani of Cisalpine Gaul dwelt on the Po and in Verona, and we have already seen reason to believe that the name of the Po (Padus) was given to it by *p*-preserving Kelts, and that *p*-preserving Kelts lived in Verona!

Ind.-Eur. *p* at Verona.

And a singular confirmation as regards Verona is supplied by the *Sprachschatz* of Holder. Gregory of Tours, an Auvergne man by birth, is describing an incident which happened at Clermont in Auvergne, and mentions 'urceum, qui anax dicitur' (*Mirac.* 2, 8—Holder II. 137). Stokes (46) suggests that *anax* and Ir. *án F.* 'Trinkgeschirr' are from '*⟨p⟩o . . . trinken'. Now Holder (II. 925) prints the following epigram of Martial (XIV. 100):

panaca.

Panaca

Si non ignota est docti tibi terra Catulli,
potasti testa Raetica vina mea.

I cannot end without paying the profoundest homage to the zeal, patience, and acumen exhibited by M. Jullian in deciphering the Rom tablet. Nor must the name of M. Blumereau, whose excavations led to its discovery, be forgotten. They have given us a new and wonderful illustration of the saying that 'Truth lies at the bottom of a well'!

The Rom tablet in stressed and rimed metre.

Postscript on the metrical structure of the Rom tablet. The relics of stressed rhythm which I have found in the Amélie-les-Bains tablets (see next Appendix) have led me to the discovery that the Rom tablet is entirely in stressed metre, accompanied by rime—although the proper division has not been at all perfectly preserved in the tablet itself. I append an approximate restoration, italicizing diphthongs and vowels which should certainly or probably be run together in pronunciation.

Many of the rimes are obvious. With reference to others, I quote the following from Windisch's *Concise Irish grammar*, tr. by Norman Moore, p. 127:—

'In verse a short terminal vowel not unfrequently rhymes with a long syllable of a stem. For example in a poem of

have been originally only a geographical term for the entire Atlantic seaboard and its peoples—among whom the Pictones and Bituriges Vivisci were certainly Goidelic, while the Santones (see p. 167) were apparently so.

the Codex S. Pauli *cele* (socius) rhymes with *ré* (time), and *messe* (I) with *glé* (splendidus). Also Sc. 37, 15 *airgdidu* (dat. of *airgdide* silver) with *clú* (fame).'

The laws of terminal assonance in old Irish verse are indeed so very liberal (see Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, VI. 304-8) that I believe assonance is intended to be present in the termination of every line of the Rom tablet.

I have called attention by dots to some alliterations in accented syllables which may or may not be accidental.

[To Caticatona]

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ./ ./ ./ ./ ./ | 1. Ápe <i>clalli</i> <i>cárti</i> , <i>éti</i> - <i>héiont</i> |
| ./ ./ / | 2. <i>Çátí</i> <i>çáto</i> ná, |
| ./ ./ ./ / | 3. <i>dém</i> tis <i>síe</i> <i>clótu</i> <i>vlá</i> ; |
| ./ ./ / | 4. <i>se</i> <i>dém</i> ti <i>tíont</i> . |

[To Dibona]

- | | |
|------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| ./ ./ ./ / | 5. BÍ car <i>táont</i> , <i>Díbo</i> ná. |
| ./ ./ ./ | 6. <i>Şósio</i> , <i>déei</i> <i>pía</i> ! |
| ./ ./ ./ | 7. <i>şósio</i> , <i>púra</i> ! <i>şósio</i> , |
| ./ ./ ./ | 8. <i>govísa</i> ! <i>Şuíó</i> <i>tíet</i> : |
| ./ ./ ./ | 9. <i>şósio</i> , <i>púra</i> <i>héiont</i> ! |
| ./ ./ / | 10. <i>şúa</i> <i>dém</i> ti á |
| ./ ./ ./ / | 11. <i>Pónti</i> <i>dúnna</i> <i>Vóusei</i> á. |

[To Imona]

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ./ ./ | 12. <i>Téu</i> ! or <i>dúimo</i> : |
| ./ ./ | 13. <i>éhzia</i> a <i>tánto</i> te, |
| ./ ./ | 14. <i>h<i>(i)</i>zio</i> a <i>tánta</i> te, |
| ./ ./ ./ | 15. <i>cómpri</i> <i>áto</i> <i>sósio</i> |
| ./ ./ ./ | 16. <i>dérti</i> ! <i>Nói</i> <i>pómmio</i> |
| ./ ./ ./ / | 17. at <i>ého</i> <i>tís-se</i> <i>póte</i> á : |
| ./ ./ ./ ./ | 18. <i>Té</i> pri <i>ávi</i> <i>mó</i> —a <i>tánta</i> ! |
| ./ ./ ./ / | 19. <i>Teíónte</i> <i>zíáti</i> <i>mézi</i> <i>ó</i> : |
| ./ ./ ./ / | 20. <i>zíia</i> , ' <i>Téu</i> ! ' o <i>ráii</i> <i>mó</i> : |
| ./ ./ ./ | 21. Ápe <i>şósio</i> <i>dérti</i> , |
| ./ / | 22. <i>Ímo</i> ná, |
| ./ * | 23. <i>dém</i> tis <i>sí(e)</i> * |
| ./ ./ ./ / | 24. <i>uztiet</i> <i>iáont</i> <i>pádva</i> . |

* The (e) is apparently elided or slurred before *u* beginning the next line, so as to give *sí* as a rime to *dérti*.

APPENDIX IV

The Amélie-les-Bains tablets

(*Sordonic*?)

Particulars of the discovery. THESE 8 lead tablets were found in June 1845 in the principal spring at Amélie-les-Bains in the Pyrénées Orientales. Their finder, Col. A. Puiggari, made a copy of them—evidently a very careful one—which is reproduced in the *Revue Archéologique*, IV, pl. 71; but unfortunately they have been lost since 1849. An imperfect transcript is given in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* XII. 5367, where the tablets are most unjustly described as ‘aut fictis aut certe pessime descriptis’.

The transcript and translation. I only became aware of them while this book was passing through the press, and cannot spare time to do more than transcribe and briefly explain what looks to me fairly probable. All seem to be much eaten away at the edges; much of the writing on what is left of them has perished; and much more is so fragmentary as to be virtually undecipherable.

I put a dot under doubtful letters, inclose in [] my own additions, and divide each line into words.

Tablet 1. **Tablet 1**, in 2 columns. 3rd cent.?

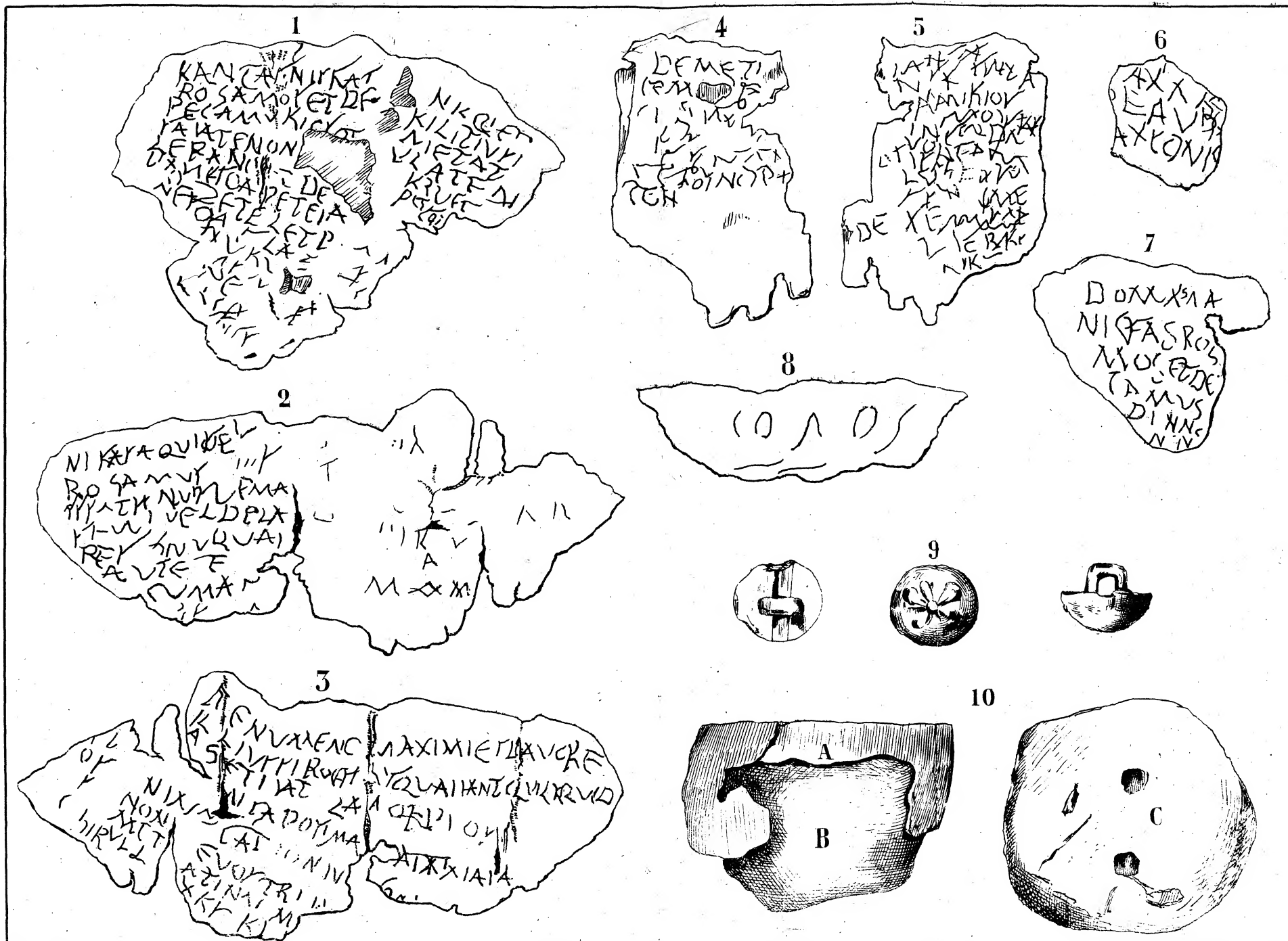
Col. 1.

1. KANZAMVŦ · NIŦKAŦ
2. ROGAMOŦ EZ DE
3. PEZAMV KIO ŦOZ
4. ŦANAZE NON
5. LÉRANO EZ DEA
6. OMNEŦ O APEZEI
7. O [AP]EZE LEZR. [O]M
8. NEIŦ O AŦLAZ . . .

Col. 1

- We-are-chanting. The-Nix(i)es
 we-beg and would-be-
 seech, whoever they-be.
 Heal-ye now
 Lerano and Dea
 all-of-you. O circle-hither!
 O circle-hither . . . all-
 of-you! O pour-out

(5 fragments of lines follow)



THE AMÉLIE-LES-BAINS TABLETS
(from the *Revue Archéologique*, IV. pl. 71)

Lith. Boissacq aîné Place de l'Estrapade 28

The first 5 lines were almost certainly composed in Col. 1
metre :— metrical?

. / .	kantámus
/ .	Nískas
. / .	rogámos
/ .	ét de
. / .	petámus
/ .	kíto sot
. / .	sanáte
/	nón
. / .	Leráno
. / .	et Déa

Line 1. *kantamus*. The *amu* are ligatured. Cf. Lat. *cantamus*, and Ir. *canim* = Lat. *cano*. Glossary to
Tablet 1,
col. 1.

Niskas. Acc. pl. of *niska* = *niksa*, 'water-spirit', from root of 'nigô ich wasche' (Stokes, 194). Cf. O.H.G. masc. *nicchus*, fem. *nicchessa*, Ger. masc. *nix*, fem. *nixe*, Eng. masc. *nix*, fem. *nixie*. The word before us might be a masc. ā-stem: see below under [*Am*]iki and *kili*. But Tablet 3 points to its being feminine.

Line 2. *rogamos*. Cf. Lat. *rogamus*. The root appears in Ir. with the meaning 'choose' (i. e. ask for)—see Stokes, 234.

et = Lat. *et*, which apparently has not been found in Celtic. Cf. the note on Pictavian *eti* (p. 138).

depetamu. *Depetere* apparently has not been found in Latin.

Line 3. *kio* = Ir. indeclinable *cia*, 'whoever'.

sot = Lat. *sunt*, Old Latin *sont* (Lindsay, *Lat. language*, 456). No doubt *sôt*, with compensatory lengthening for loss of *n*: in Spanish Goidelic *kentun* had become *κιοτον* as early as Dioscorides (see above, p. 103)—i. e. before A.D. 200. Cf., below, *metat* for earlier *metant*.

Line 4. *sanate*. So rightly read Sacaze; the *N* and *A* are ligatured. Cf. Lat. *sanate*.

non. I. e. 'nu nun. ir. nu, no, Verbalpräfix . . . gr. *vó* (*vón*, *vôn*) nun.—lat. *nū-dius* (nun-c)' (Stokes, 196).

Line 5. *Lerano* probably = the Ir. man's name *Leran* (genitive) in the Annals of Ulster, 994, and is, in any case, an adj. from 'lero-s Meer. ir. ler' (Stokes, 249), i. e. Seaman. For loss of final -n here and in *Dea*, see Pictavian *potea* (above, p. 140).

Dea. I. e. *Dēa*, woman's name (= Bright), from the adj. which gives Pictish *deo-*: see above, pp. 54, 56. For *Dea* as the name either of a woman or of a horse, see Holder.

Line 6. *omnes*. The M and N are ligatured. Cf. Lat. *omnes* (derivation unknown?).

o. Cf. Lat. *o*, Ir. *á*.

apetei. Undeclined imper. from compound stem *ape-tei*, cf. the Pictavian imperatives *bi* (p. 135), *ten* (p. 141). But the use of the undeclined stem for the 2nd pers. plural does not seem to have been previously found in Indo-European. For *ape* cf. Pictavian *ape* (p. 134) and for *tei* Pictavian *teionte*, *tiet*, *tiont* (p. 142).

Line 7. [*ap*]ete. I. e. *apetē* with $\bar{e} = \bar{e}i$, as in *Dea*.

letr. Perhaps *letra* or *letro*, adverbial cases of an adj. *lētros* from '(*leja.) *lī fliessen' (Stokes, 248).

Line 8. *aslat*. Undeclined imper. from compound stem *as-lat*. Here *as* = Ir. *as-*, for *ess-*, 'Gaulish' *ex-*, *es-*, Lat. *ex*. And *lat* is from '(*lat feucht sein.)' whence ultimately 'ir. laith Bier.+corn. lad (gl. liquor)', and 'Lat. lătex': see Stokes, 238.

Tablet 1,
col. 2.

Col. 2

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. [AM]IKI EZ | [Fr]iends and |
| 2. KILI TIV ʃI | companions, swell! may |
| 3. MEZAZ | they-feel [i. e. the tablet thrown in]! |
| 4. VLAZEN | Be-strong for-us! |
| 5. KĹUEZ | |
| 6. PEIʃQI | |

Col. 2
metrical?

This too has the appearance of being in verse:—

. / .	Amłki
. / .	et kłli
/ . / .	tlu si métat
/ . / .	vláten klúet
/ .	péisqi

Glossary to
Tablet 1,
col. 2.

Line 1. [*am*]iki. Part of the M remains: the two letters were doubtless ligatured as in *-amikios* in Tablet 5.

If *Niskas* is masc. or masc. + fem., *amiki* may be (1) Lat. *amici*, (2) Goidelic *amiki*, corresponding to it, (3) Goidelic *amiki* = *amikii*: cf. *-amikios* in Tablet 5. But in Goidelic the normal vocatives would be *amikos* and *amikios*, and we should have to suppose *amiki* as a vocative form to be borrowed from the nominative. Also, it is nearly certain from Tablet 3 that Maximia was one of the Niskas, whereas we have no evidence of a male Niska.

If *Niskas* is fem., *amiki* and *kili* might be from *amikiā* and *kiliā*, with termination as in fem. *-iā* stems in Irish: their original Keltic vocatives would be *amikiās* and *kiliās*. Or is it possible that Goidelic had some adjectives of two terminations only, corresponding to the Greek ones in *-os*, *-ov*—so that *amiki* and *amikios* were both masc. and fem.? It is to be noted that the feminines of adjectival *-io* stems in Irish make both nom. and acc. pl. in *-i* like the masc.: see Stokes, *Celtic declension*, 101, in Bezzenberger's *Beitr.* XI.

If, indeed, the defective end of col. 1 contained the name of a male water-spirit, both *amiki* (for *amikie*) and *kili* (for *kilie*) might be voc. sing.. But this seems very unlikely.

Line 2. *kili*. Cf. Irish *céle* (nom. pl. *céili*, voc. pl. *céiliu*) from root of 'keiljo- Genosse' (Stokes, 75). If *Niskas* is masc., *kili* would be nominative used as vocative. If *Niskas* is fem., it would be from a fem. *kiliā*, with termination as in fem. *-iā* stems in Irish: see last note. Cf. the Lusitanian names Cilius, Cilia, given by Holder.

tiu = Pictavian *teu* (p. 141).

si = Biturigan *si* (p. 114).

Line 3. *metat* = earlier *metant* (cf. *sot* for *sont*, above). 3rd pers. pl. subj. from Stokes's '*met *mât fühlen(?)' (206).

Line 4. *vlaten*. 2nd pers. pl. imper. from Stokes's '*vala: *vla mächtig sein' (whence 'Gaulish' *vlatos*, Pictish and Highland Gaelic *flath*), followed by *-n*, the Irish suffixed pron. of the 1st pers. pl.: see Zeuss-Ebel, 329.

Line 5. *klu(et)*. Imper. from *klu-* = Stokes's 'klevô ich höre' (101). Cf. Greek κλέφομαι, κλέφος, κλύω, Lat. *cluo*, *clueo*, and 'klevos Ruhm. ir. clú' (Stokes). It is uncertain whether we should read *klu et* 'hear also' or *kluet* 3rd pers. pl. 'may they hear'. And the L is much more like an R—if I could only explain that.

Line 6. *peisqi*. The *ei* are ligatured. This looks like nom. pl. of Stokes's '⟨p⟩eisko-s Fisch. ir. æsc, lasc M., Gen. Sg. éisc' (Stokes, 25). For *q* = *k* cf. Sequanian *Qutios* for *Cutios*. We should have to suppose that the fishes were called on to hear, so as to carry the message to the Niskas if the latter were themselves out of hearing.

But would there be any fish in these warm sulphurous bath-springs¹? And are not the *Peisqi* possibly our British Piskies or Pixies, a kind of fairy? It may be, of course, that these were originally fish-deities, if the name comes to us through Goidelic.

Tablet 2. **Tablet 2.** 3rd cent.?

The writing on the centre and right of this tablet has almost entirely perished, and *a priori* we could not tell whether it ran in columns (as in Tablet 1) or all across (as in Tablet 3): but I have no doubt from the following remnant that the arrangement was by columns.

Left side

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. NIʃKAʃ AQVIʃER | The-Nixies of-Aquisa |
| 2. ROGAMVʃ [AMi]K | we-beg [ʔ friend-] |
| 3. IOʃʃ ʃATʃi NV ... EMA | ly-ones. Swarm (ʔ) now |
| 4. ʃEVV! VEL DELA | may-it-be (ʔ) an-acceptable-thing (ʔ) |
| 5. RE ʃ[1]b NV QVAI | before you now wherever (ʔ) |
| 6. AVTE ET | ye-are-flowing (ʔ), and |
| 7. EVMA. | |

(followed by traces of 1 or 2 more lines)

Metrical? Here also there is a suspicion of metre:—

/ .	Niskas
. / .	Aquises
. / .	rogámus
. / .	amíkios
/ . .	sátsi nu

Glossary to
Tablet 2. *Line 1.* *Niskas*. The *f* and *k* are ligatured.
Aquises. No doubt Aquisa was the original name of Amélie

¹ 'Eau thermale sulfurée sodique; beaucoup de barégine' (*Guides-Joanne*).

or its springs. Cf. Lat. *agua*, possibly for *ap-kâ* (Fick, I. 173). Does the ending -isa contain the stem *isa* 'heal'?—see p. 161.

Line 3. The first character is a monogram for *ios* or some other arrangement of the same letters; and, as the last letter in the previous line is either an f or an imperfect K, and most resembles the latter, I conjecture *amikioss* from the quite certain *amikios* of Tablet 5, l. 3. The AM were probably ligatured, as in Tablet 5.

amikioss. Acc. pl. of *amikios*. See note on *amiki*, Tablet 1, col. 2, l. 1, and cf. the Latin gentile name (*once* found) *Amicius*, and the Cisalpine Gaulish *Amiciacum* (Holder), now Mezzago.

satsi. I take -*si* as Ir. -*sí*, suffix of the 2nd pers. pl., and *sat* as an undeclined imperative meaning 'crowd-hither', 'swarm': cf. 'satjâ Schwarm. ir. saithe Schwarm', with Welsh and Breton forms used of a swarm of bees (Stokes, 289).

nu. See note on *non*, Tablet 1, col. 1, l. 4.

Line 4. vel. 'The root *vel* in Old Irish occurs only in the 3 sg. It governs the accusative and often answers to the French *il y a*: sg. 3 *fil* (*fail*), relative *file*; conj. *fel*, also *feil*. The latter is also proved as a relative form after the neuter sg.' (Windisch, *Irish gr.*, Moore's trans., p. 118).

dela. Cf. 'dili-s angenehm. ir. dil „gratus“. Davon dile .i. gradh no annsa O'Cl. (Grundform diljá)'—Stokes, 151. Is Irish 'díl, díol propitiation...satisfaction...' (Windisch, from O'Reilly) related? If so, it points to a *deil-* stem which might be represented by *dēl-*.

Line 5. re = Ir. *ré*, 'before'.

s[i]b = Ir. *sib*, 'you'.

quai. Cf. Lat. *qua* 'where', and perhaps the Ir. pronominal determinative *í*.

Line 6. aute. 2nd pers. pl. of *av-*, *au-*, apparently a form of Stokes's '*ab fliessen' (10). Cf. Stokes's 'avo-s... Fluss. gall. 'Avos' (23), and Pliny's *Abobrica* (IV. 112), found in Ptolemy as 'Αυόβριχα (II. 6, 40), and in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* (II. 4247) as *Avobrig-*.

At the bottom of col. 2 (and almost the only letters left of it) we have MA followed by an apparent ligature of M and X. I have no doubt that at this point came in the name of the

Ligature
for name of
Maximia?

Tablet 3. **Tablet 3.** 3rd cent.?

1.	RENVENO MAXIMIEꝛ LA- VORE	I-renown Maximia's laver;
2.	ILLIVꝛ ꝛi ROGEꝛi [E]ꝛ QVA IHANT QVIDQVID	Her's, if thou-askest her, out-of whom (is) whatever (is) healing.
3.	AȒE ZIV AZ LAA[V]OREIOꝛ	Come, swell to those- in-the-laver
4. . .	AlꝛAPOꝛIMA[R]A ꝞMIA IA	... Maximia, heal !
5.	OR NIXꝛAꝛ ꝛA[NA]ZȒ NIV ꝛO . .	Nixies, heal us
6.	ꝛ NON EVORZRI ꝛi	now! may some-of-you
7.	MȒZAZ INAI M	feel
8. .	VLL . Kꝛ KI .	
9.	bir	

./|./|./|./|./|
 Renú|menó | Máxím|ⁱés | lavóre,
 ./|./|./|./|./|
 ill|us sí |rogés|^a es qu f|hant quídquid.
 ./|./|./|./|
 Áge, | ttu at | lávo|reíos
 ./|./|..
 Áisa, | Pósi|mára,
 ./|./|./|
 Máxim|fa,|fa.

Maximies. Gen. of Maximia (cf. Latin Maximia), a name explained by the fact that the tablets come from the *principal* spring.

lavore. I.e. acc. with final *m* or *n* omitted. From the stem *lavo-* 'Wasser . . . ir. *ló* . . . Vgl. gr. *λούω* . . . lat. *luo, lavo*' (Stokes, 249): cf. 'gall. *lautre* (?) gl. *balneo*' (*id.* 250).

Latin stems in -ori- (like *labor*) represent earlier -osi-, and

Goidelic does not change intervocalic *s* to *r*. Stokes has told us that *siur* (= Lat. *soror* i. e. *sosor*) 'points . . . to a proto-celtic -*ōr*: cf. φράωρ' (Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XI. 87). But it is practically certain to me that we see here a rustic Latin coinage or survival, *lavor* being to *lavare* as *amor*, *clamor*, *error*, *sonor*, *sudor*, to corresponding verbs in -*are*. For Romance derivatives of *lavor* see p. 181.

Line 2. *illius*. Cf. Lat. *illius*.

si. Cf. Latin *si*, 'if', Biturigan *si*, O-if! (p. 114), and Pictavian *se*, 'since' (p. 141).

rogesi. The GGF are ligatured. Cf. Lat. *roges*. The *i* (elided or slurred in the metre before the following vowel) is probably the Ir. suffixed pronoun *i* = 'him', 'her', (acc.) 'it': see Windisch, *Wörterb.*, and Zeuss-Ebel, 1088.

[*e*]*s*. Cf. 'Gaulish' *es*- in *Es-cingos* &c. (see Holder), Irish *éss*-, from original *eks* = Lat. *ex* (Stokes, 26).

qua. Cf. Lat. *qua*. In Irish, 'qo-, qa-, qe-' (Stokes, 61) is only interrogative, not relative.

ihant. The HA are ligatured. Pres. participle of verb *iha* = Gr. *la-* in *la-μα*, *la-ομαι*, *la-ίνω*, for original *isa-* (see Prellwitz). In *ihant* the *h* represents earlier *s*. Cf. the loss of intervocalic *s* in Irish *hlarn* (? transposed for *tharn*) from older *ísarn* (Zeuss-Ebel, 52), and *siur* from older *sisur* (*id.* 53).

The same stem is found two lines lower as *ia*. But Stokes's (222) 'jakko-s gesund, jëkkâ Heilung. ir. ícc F. Heilung, Gen. ícce. + cymr. iâch „sanus . . .“ iechyd „sanitas“. corn. iach (gl. sanus) . . . abret. iechet „sanatus“; bret. yach „sain“' is assigned a different origin (Fick, I. 521).

quidquid. Cf. Lat. *quidquid* and Ir. *cid*, 'whatever'.

Line 3. *age*. Cf. Lat. *age*, and 'to-agô, ir. taig komm!' (Stokes, 132).

tiu = Pictavian *teu* (p. 141).

at = Pictavian *at* (p. 134), Latin *ad*, *at*.

laa[v]oreios. Acc. pl. of *lavoreio-*, adj. from *lavor-*. For adj. termination -*eio-* cf. Pictavian *Sueio* (p. 141), *Vouseia* (p. 142), many proper names in Holder (I. 1410), and many Latin proper names, e. g. Appuleius. Apparently the scribe wrote LAA or LAA' by mistake for LAV or LA'.

Line 4. I read *Aisa*, *Posima*[*r*]*a* as epithets of Maximia, or as names of 2 other Nixies.

For *Aisa* cf. *Aisa* and (gen.) *Aisii*, potters' marks from Poitiers, with fem. *Aisia*—all given by Holder. It might represent earlier *Aig-sa*, from a root meaning 'to spring': see Fick, I. 346 'aig-s f. Ziege. *αἴξ αἰγός* ... geht vielleicht auf eine Basis aig-, „springen“ wozu ... *αἰγες* dorisch „Wellen“' i.e. waves.

For *Posima*[*r*]*a* cf. the masc. cognomen *Posimarus* (Holder). Here *-mar-* suggests 'mâro-s gross' (Stokes, 201), and it was tempting to equate *Posi-* with *πόσις*, 'a draught', but that arises out of earlier *πόρις*, and in Goidelic intervocalic *t* does not become *s*. Can *Posi-* be from Stokes's '(*⟨p⟩es zeugen.)', 43? Cf. Fick, I. 83, 254, 479. The sense, as applied to a fountain-goddess, would be either 'of large progeny' or 'greatly productive'.

ia. Undeclined imper. of verb *i(h)a-*: see above. It is also the first word in Tablet 5.

Line 5. *Nixsas*. If this reading is correct, it is the right form for voc. pl. of *Nixsa*.

nin. Acc. pl.: cf. Ir. *ní*.

Line 6. *evostri*. If the Latin personal pron. *vostri* is rightly taken as originally gen. sing. of the possessive *voster*, the *e* here cannot = the Lat. preposition *e*, but must be a prefix, as in early Latin *enos* = *nos* and Gr. *ἐμέ* = *me*.

Line 7. Have we in the last 5 letters the word *inaim*? See Windisch, *Wörterb.*, 'inaim, ind inaim so zu dieser Zeit *MI*. 16^o. 5 (*Z*² 747); inn inaim *Oss*. I. 11'? If so, the meaning may be 'immediately'.

Tablet 4. **Tablet 4.** 3rd cent.?

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. DEMEZI | Servants-of-thine |
| 2. ZE M ... | thee ... |

followed by several lines wholly or partly undecipherable.

Line 1. *demeti*. Cf. Pictavian *demti* (p. 137).

Line 2. *te*. Cf. Pictavian *te* (p. 141).

Tablet 5. **Tablet 5.** 3rd cent.?

The writing is crowded and irregular, and more than 2 consecutive letters can rarely be read at sight. Now that we have the linguistic clew, much more may doubtless be made out, with patience, than the little I have time to offer.

1. 1A NIV NA[?] Heal us [-here?]
2. N[1]K[A]ŋ! ḅA O-Nixies! [be not?]
3. AMAMIKIOŋ unfriendly

(followed by 8 other lines)

The first 3 lines seem to be metrical:—

Metrical?

1. | 1. | ía | níu na(s?) |
 1. | 1. | Nískas | ní ba |
 1. | 1. | ámam|íkios |

Line 1. *níu*. Ligatured, the 2nd upright of the *n* being lengthened so as to represent *i*, and also forming the left side of a *v*. Glossary to
Tablet 5.

Followed by another ligature, which is probably *na* or *nas*, but which might be *ma* or *mas*. I connect it with Fick's pronominal *na-* (I. 99, 271, 504, 505). If we read *nas*, cf. Sansk. *nas*, Lat. *nos*: if *na*, cf. Zend. *kém-nâ*, Gothic *hva-na*, ἔγω-νη, τό-νη, (Thessalian) ὅ-νε, τό-νε. I prefer the latter.

Line 2. *N[1]sk[a]s*. The *Nl* may have been ligatured, i. e. the second upright of the *N* may have been lengthened.

ní = Ir. *ní*, 'not'.

ḅa. For the obscure and doubtless imperfect character before the *a*, cf. the imperfect *b* in Tablet 2, l. 5. Cf. Ir. *ba*, 'be', 2nd pers. imper. *sing.* (the 2nd pl. being *bad*, and the 3rd pl. *bat*) and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd pers. *sing.* conjunctive.

Line 3. *amamikios* = *am* + *amikios*, where *am* = Ir. *am-*, 'un-': for *amikios* see notes on Tablet 1, col. 2, l. 1, and Tablet 2, l. 3. The form may be nom. *sing.*, or voc. *pl.*, according to the syntax.

Line 5 ends with *DA* and l. 6 begins with *VONT*, so that we seem to have the participle *davont* of a verb compounded of the prep. *de* and the verb *av-* (see note on *aute*, Tablet 2, l. 6): cf. Welsh *dafnu* 'to drop, trickle', and *dafn* 'a drop' (Old Welsh *dafyn*).

Tablet 6. 3rd cent.?

Tablet 6.

1. A
2. E AV B . . . flow . . .
3. AXŋONIŌ for-Axonios

Glossary to
Tablet 6. Line 1. I suspect at beginning a ligature of AMVJ i.e. the ending of *kantamus*: cf. Tablet 1, col. 1, l. 1.

Line 3. *Axsonio*. Apparently a man's name derived from the river Axona, the modern Aisne—cf. Sequani, Sordones.

Tablet 7. **Tablet 7.** 3rd cent.?

1. DOMMA	These (?)
2. NIKAS ROÇ	Nixies beg
3. [A]MOS EZ DE[PE]	and would-be-
4. TAMVS	seech
5. DINNO	daily
6. NIV	we.

Metrical? This also appears to be in metre (cf. p. 155):—

/ .	Dómma
/ .	Niskas
. / .	rogámos
/ .	ét de
. / .	petámus
/ .	dínno
/	níu

Glossary to
Tablet 7. Line 1. *dommsa* I take to be from the demonstrative pronominal stem of Ir. *dan* 'him' (*dam* before a following *b*) and 'Lat. *dam* in *qui-dam*'—Stokes, 152—followed by the Irish demonstrative suffix *-sa*.

Line 2. The J and K seem to be ligatured, and the form may be *Niksas*.

Line 3. The AM may be ligatured.

Line 5. *dinno*. Case of adj. *dinnos* 'daily', from stem 'din-Tag . . . ir. . . tre-denus „triduum“ . . . vgl. . . lat. *nun-dīnae*' (Stokes, 145).

Tablet 8. **Tablet 8.** 2nd cent.?

COROS A-throwing

This was apparently the entire inscription on the tablet, and means that the tablet was thrown in as a gift. The root is that of '*koru- Wurf' (Stokes, 91). Cf. Ir. 'cor *Wurf*, *Werfen*' (Windisch).

The Roman name of Amélie-les-Bains is not recorded, but

was doubtless Aemilia¹, being probably named from the Roman name of Amélie-les-Bains? Triumvir M. Aemilius Lepidus, who had held the government of Narbonese Gaul in B.C. 44. It was in the territory of the Sordones, i.e. the dwellers on the river Sordus, which doubtless derives its name from prae-historic 'svordo-s dunkel, „schwarz“. lat. surdus, color surdus „dunkel“, dann „taub“, sordes, sordêre, got. svarts, ahd. swarz, nhd. schwarz' (Fick, I. 580), our 'swart'.

The only reason why I hesitate to declare these tablets specimens of the Sordonic speech is that the baths may have been then, as they are now, a favourite health-resort, and the writers of the tablets may have come from other parts of Gaul, or even from Spain. Still, metrical invocations would almost certainly be the composition of a local priest or priestess.

Tablets 1, 3, 7 are obviously in mixed Goidelic and Latin, and suggest a very interesting inquiry—how far the Provencal-Catalan language afterwards spoken on the same spot is the descendant not of a mere rustic Latin, but of a rustic Latin influenced by Goidelic. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same inquiry might be made of other Romance languages and dialects.

My datings must be taken with a fair margin, partly because the amount of dateable writing of this kind at present known is very limited, and partly because a particular style of writing is apt to survive in out of the way regions after it has become generally obsolete.

¹ There are remains of a large Roman bathing-establishment. One of the springs is at present called S. Amélie (or S. Noguère), another S. Émile: both names are doubtless derived from an original Aemilia.

APPENDIX V

The name Mediolanum

Different forms of the name. Old derivation.

New derivation.

Name = *Mediolanum*, and is Goidelic.

The great Mediolanum connected with the wool-trade.

Name of the river *Olonna*.

Holder gives 42 places as certainly or presumably¹ named Mediolanon, Mediolanion, or Mediolanum. Not doubting Stokes's derivation (236) from '⟨p⟩lānon Fläche' (though *lāno*, 'plain', is not otherwise found in Keltic), I took this name to be a sign of Kymric occupancy until I found it repeatedly in Goidelic neighbourhoods, as well as in some places which did not very well suit the derivation. I now hold that it does *not* = Medio-(p)lanon, 'Mid-plain', but *does* = Medi-olanon, i. e. weighing-place for wool, 'Wool-mart', from the stems of Ir. *med* 'weighing-beam', 'scale', and Ir. *olann* (= *olan*), 'wool'. The former is from the stem of 'mediô-r ich ermesse' (Stokes, 204), the latter is 'vlanâ . . . Wolle' (276) = Lat. *lāna* for *vlāna*.

Mediolanum does not = Medio-lanum, for the mediaeval and modern Kymric forms of the *vlan*-stem all begin with *g* arising out of earlier *v*, and showing that the Old Kymric form was not *olan*- but *vlan*-. It = Medi-olanum, and is an evidence of *Goidelic* settlement.

Evidence of the connexion of *the great* Mediolanum with the wool-trade can be found in two facts:—

1. On the walls of Milan was a fleece, or the representation of one, said to have belonged to a *boar*!—the *ne plus ultra*, surely, of wool-cultivation². The proof is Claudian's lines, quoted by Holder,

Continuo, sublime volans ad moenia Gallis
condita, lanigeri suis ostentantia pellem
pervenit

(*Epithal. de nuptiis Honorii*, 182-4).

2. The river on which Milan stands is the Olona, anciently Olonna. This I take to be syncopated for Olan-ona, from

¹ The *presumptions* are from modern forms only, such as Meillan. Among the ancient forms is Mediolanas, which Holder explains as an adj. agreeing with *villas* or *domus*, but which might be the nom. pl. of a Keltic Mediolanā.

² Had it an older name *Su-olanon* i. e. the place of 'good (su-) wool', and was this eventually misinterpreted as 'boar's wool'?

the shreds of wool floating down on it—just as Ambarri is syncopated for Ambarari, ‘the people on both sides the Arar’ (Zeuss-Ebel, 779). This derivation is supported by the fact that it was the name not only of 2 rivers but of 3 villages or towns (see Holder).

And, if Mediolanum is Goidelic, then we have a reasonable presumption that we may include in the list of Goidelic tribes the following, in whose territory it is found:—

In Austria-Hungary. The Racatae(?), a little above Pressburg.

In North Italy. The Insubres. As we have already pronounced the Cenomani to be Goidels, this gives the Goidelic race practically the whole of what is now Lombardy. And the name of the river Adva (see p. 139) is no proof to the contrary, since its earlier course is outside this region.

In France. The Santones, the Bituriges Cubi (see also p. 115), the Segusiavi, and the Aulerci Eburovices. We might likewise reasonably add the other Aulerci, namely the Cenoman(n)i (see also p. 151), and the Diablintes.

In Britain. The Ordovices, of North Wales. This would give the Goidels possession of practically the whole of that region.

Mediola-
num sug-
gests that
the follow-
ing tribes
were Goid-
delic:—
the
Racatae(?),
Insubres,

Santones,
Bituriges
Cubi,
Segusiavi,
Aulerci
Eburovices,
Aulerci
Ceno-
man(n)i,
Aulerci
Diablintes,
Ordovices.

All inferences drawn from one or two geographical names should, however, be provisional only, on account of the extent to which Keltic tribes shifted their seats. Even in Caesar’s time the Helvetii attempted to migrate to the territory of the Santones, and it is clear (see p. 128) that the Sequani had migrated, or been driven, from their natural location into land formerly occupied by a tribe of the Kymric stock. Doubtless to them, and not to the Haedui (see p. 8), the name of the Haeduan Mediolanum owes its origin.

But the in-
ference
should be
provisional
owing to
the extent
of Keltic
migrations.
The Haed-
uan Medi-
olanum
probably
of Sequan-
ian origin.

APPENDIX VI

The Llanaber inscription

Position The stone on which this is cut belongs to the parish of Llanaber on the coast of Merioneth, and is now fixed on the inside of the wall of the church (about $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile N. of Barmouth), close to the N. door. It is described and figured in J. O. Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ* (162 and pl. LXXX and text. fig. 5). It runs as follows

CÆLEXTI
MONED⊗
RIÇI

Cælexti. In l. 1 X is used for S, as often in late Roman inscriptions: in the coin of Carausius *Caesar* struck in Britain about 409 we apparently have CONXTA . . . for CONSTA . . . (A. J. Evans in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., v. 138 &c.). And conversely in the coinage of Carausius *Augustus* we have PAS for PAX (id. 151). If both the Carausii were Menapians of N. Wales, this has a bearing on the pronunciation of Latin X by the Goidels of that region, and suggests that in their native Goidelic *x* had already become *s*. *Cælexti*, therefore, = *Cælesti*.

Monedox. The last letter of the second line is O with X inside it. The X is quite plain in Westwood's plate, and on Westwood's rubbings (which are in the Bodleian); and in Hübner's *Exempla scripturae epigraphicae Latinae* (LXIX) instances are quoted of O with F, L, N, or R inside it. Moreover, since beginning this Appendix, I have satisfied myself of the presence of this X by a personal inspection, and rubbings, of the stone. Consequently l. 2 is *Monedox* = *Monedos*, gen. of a Monedstem (nom. Mones?).

rigi. The third line is simply the dative of *rix* 'king' (Stokes, 230), Irish dat. *rig*.

Translation. The inscription is, in fact, a memorial (in the dedicatory dative, as in Latin) 'To Cælestis king of the Mountain'.

Just as τὸ ὄρος is apparently applied in the New Testament to the entire mountain-region behind the Sea of Galilee, 'Monedos' probably means the entire line of mountains fringing the coast between the estuaries of the Mawddach and the Dwyryd¹. There may have been a king of the Plain as well, especially as at the date of our inscription the large tract of coast known in tradition as 'Maes Gwyddneu' had not been swallowed up by the sea.

On the undulating tableland across this mountain-range there is one town, and one only. Its name is Trawsfynydd, with *f* mutated from *m*, meaning 'Across Mountain'. There should be other places in Wales to which such a name would apply, yet no other bears the name, and I suspect that in this case it means 'Across Mynydd', the Moned- of our inscription.

The order of the words is doubtless due to Latin influence, as Goidelic would naturally have had *Caelexti rigi Monedox*.

The name Caelestis is found as that of an early 4th cent. Lotharingian bishop, while Caelestius was an early 5th cent. heretic, believed to be of Irish birth, who supported the 'Briton' Pelagius.

Pelagius himself, according to Jerome, 'habet progeniem Scoticae gentis de Britannorum vicinia' (Pref. lib. 3 in Ierem.), and was doubtless a Goidel of Britain. There is a commonly believed tradition that his name is a Greek translation of *Morgan*, and that he came from Bangor in N. Wales; but according to Dr. Ince, in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian biography*, it 'rests on late and untrustworthy authority'. The name Pelagius was not borne by any Latin ecclesiastic of so early a date, and it is most unlikely that *Morgan* should have been turned into what was then a purely Greek name—especially when the Latin ecclesiastical name Marinus was already to hand, and when it was so easy to coin the still better Marigena. It seems to me much more likely that Pelagius is a Goidelic name from the root '(*<p>el...füllen.)' (Stokes, 41) whence Irish *il* 'much', 'many', and the prefix *El-* in Welsh names (*ib.*). The *agio-* stem is also found in Keltic names, and Stokes (6) takes it as=Drover. I agree

¹ In Bishop W. Basil Jones's *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd* (pp. 36, 39) it is pointed out that we have at the foot of this chain relics of Goidelic occupation in Muriau 'r Gwyddelod near Harlech and Muriau 'r Gwyddel near Maentwrog.

substantially, but I further suggest *agia* 'a drove'—cf. my derivation of *airge* (p. 94, note). And, comparing (from the Book of Llan Dâu) the names Elcu, Elcun, Elcon='Owner of many hounds', I take Pelagius to mean 'Owner of many herds'.

APPENDIX VII

Additional notes

P. 1. There are two Indo-European *p*-stems in which, owing to assimilation with a following *q*, the *p* has been treated irregularly in Keltic.

The first is *pénk'e*, *pénqe*, 'five', Sanskrit *páñca*. Latin has not *pinque* but *quinque*, and in the same way Irish has not (*p*)*óic* but *cóic* for *qonqe*. The Kymric languages, by regular change of *qu* to *p*, have brought back the original *p* (Welsh *pimp*, later *pump* for *pypm*, Cornish *pym*, Breton *pemp*: see Stokes, 59; Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.* I. 514). The stem *pénk'e*, *pénqe*, in Keltic.

The other is *pék-*, *peq-*, 'cook', Sanskrit *pac-*. Latin has not *poquo* but *coquo*, for *quoquo*, and the Kymric languages, by regular change of *q* to *p*, have again brought back the original *p* (Welsh *popuryes* „pistrix“, *poeth* 'hot' = *coctus*, etc. — see Stokes, 58; Brugmann, *ib.* 514, 517). The stem *pék-*, *peq-*, in Keltic.

The assimilation possibly took place before the separation of Latin and Keltic from each other.

P. 8. 'Hercunia silva', 'Oak-wood', seems an instance of *h* for Ind.-Eur. *p*, which in Lat. *quercus* (for *querquus*) and *querquetum* is assimilated to the following *q* (Brugmann, *ib.* 514). The assimilation prac-Keltic? *H* in *Hercunia silva* < *P*.

P. 10. Prof. Anwyl compares with the battle of Campus Manand the 'góeith mynað' ('affair of Mynaw') of Taliessin (Skene, *Four anc. books*, II. 187, I. 348); the 'vreithel vanawyt' (mutation of *breithel manawyt*, 'conflict of Manawyt') of Aneurin (Skene, II. 63, I. 375); the 'catvannan' (mutation of *cat mannan* 'battle (or host) of Manann', which occurs only 3 lines after the last passage; the Catvannan of Aneurin (Skene, II. 75), and his 'gatvannan' (mutation of *cat-*) (Skene, II. 81). Battle(s) of Manann in Welsh poetry.

None of the passages above mentioned can refer to the battle of 710 mentioned by Tigernach. But some of them may refer to a Cath Manand of about 581 in which he says that Aedan mac Gabran was victorious. Aedan was king of the Dalriad

Scots, and it is possible that he and the Alclyde Welsh were both engaged in it.

Dislocation
of dates in
Tigernach.

By a curious accident this victory of Aedan's appears three times over in Tigernach, its first appearance being about 504, where it is immediately followed by the death of Bruidhe mac Maelchon, king of the Picts, which is found later on again in its proper place, about 79 years after.

s in *Sleth-*
manin and
'*Sleth-*
euma'.

On comparing the forms *Slethmanin* (note 1) and *Sletheuma* (p. 39) I now think that in each case *s* is an elided form of *ts* 'under', and that *Slethmanin* = *ts leth Manin* 'under the-side of-Manan'. Cf. Highland Gaelic and Irish *steach* and *stigh* where earlier Irish has respectively *is tech* and *istig* (Macbain, 312-3).

Meneu.

P. 11. For 'Meneu' we have not only Lat. Meneu-ia, but Giraldus Cambrensis, who, however, says that it is from Ir. *muni*, 'thicket', and that the Irish call the church there Kil-muni (*Life of St. David*, III).

Hen
Fenyw.

Prof. Anwyl writes 'There is a Henfynyw¹ called locally 'Hen Fenyw' close to Aberaeron in Cardiganshire. As St David is represented as the son of Non (cf. Llannon about 4 miles from Henfynyw) and the grandson of Ceredig², I have sometimes thought that there has been a transference to the present St David's of the name Mynyw and of the leading shrine of St David'.

Whether or not there has been such a transference, I cannot doubt that the Old Mynyw or Old Menyw mentioned by Prof. Anwyl was another Menapien settlement.

Manannán
mac Lir
in Welsh
poetry.

P. 12. Manannán mac Lir appears in Welsh tradition as Manawydan son of Llyr (Skene, *Four anc. books*, I. 81). Manawydan is formed from Kymric Manaw instead of Goidelic Manann-, and would indicate, had there been any doubt whatever of the fact, that Manannán is not a regular person-name but only a national appellative. And, just as we have in Gaelic the form Monann (= Monapnos) without added -an, so in Welsh we have the form Manauid, without added -an. In the Black book of Carmarthen (Evans's Facsimile, 47; Skene, *Four anc. books*, II. 51) we have both the longer and the shorter form within three consecutive lines of verse.

¹ I. e. Old Mynyw.

² From whom Cardigan is named.

Prof. Anwyl, to whom I owe my knowledge of the shorter Welsh form, adds:—‘There is a ‘Nant Mynawyd’ near Abergynolwyn in S. Merionethshire. Manawyddan is associated in the ‘Four Branches of the Mabinogi’ with Pryderi, lord of Dyfed. It is not impossible that at one time the two names Mynyw (or Menew) and Mynewyd (probably the Dyfed pronunciation of Mynawyd) were thought to be related’. And my own belief, of course, is that they are mere dialectal variations of the same Mena- stem.

Other traces of the Menapians in Wales.

According to Skene (I. 81) Manawydd’s (imaginary) father Llyr is called Llediaith, ‘half-speech’, which, Skene says, ‘indicates that Llyr belonged to a race who spoke a peculiar dialect of Cymric’. The inference is erroneous: the epithet means that his speech was of the other branch of Keltic—was not Kymric, but Goidelic.

Significance of Llediaith.

P. 21. I regard the *a* in *-agn-* as a thematic vowel after the previous nominal stem. Sometimes this vowel was *o*, as in Vepogeni (p. 55) and perhaps Nehton; sometimes an *e*, as in Cunegni, whence ‘the origin of the Irish diminutives in *-in*’ (Stokes in Bezzenberger’s *Beiträge*, XI. 147).

The *-agn-*, *-an*, suffix.

P. 25. So also in Welsh ‘*Priten*, later *Pryden*, *Prydyn* and *Prydein*, now *Prydain*, “Scotland, Alba, or the Pictland of the North,” and *Ynys Prydain*, “Great Britain,” literally “Prydain’s or Pict’s Island”’. So Prof. Rhys (*The Welsh people*, 76) adding ‘For *Priten* see “Y Cymmrodor,” ix. 179: the other forms occur in the plural, meaning Picts, in the Books of Aneurin and Taliessin: see Skene, ii. 92, 209’.

Welsh *Priten*, &c.

Prof. Anwyl sends further references to Skene, II. 18, 124, 202, 209, 228 (Red book of Hergest).

P. 36. I get Aberargie and the *fearg* derivation from *Apurfeirc*. Johnston. Stokes (273) suggests that ‘ir. fairge, foirge Meer’ is from the root of *vergâ*, and Macbain (144) says ‘fairge, the ocean . . . from the same root as *fearg*. In Sutherland *fairge* means “the ocean in storm.” Usually pronounced as if *fairce*.’ Windisch (*Ir. gr.* tr. by Moore, 16) gives *ferc* as another way of spelling *ferg*. In Aber(fh)argie of course the *f* must be both aspirated and silent.

P. 37. Of one of the tributaries of the Invernessshire Nethy I happen to read thus, as I sit within a stone’s throw of the Nethy itself:—‘It is said that a farmer who had suffered much

The Invernessshire Nethy.

from its depredations, used to make this part of his daily prayer, "From the storms of Gealcharn, the floods of Dorback, and the wrath of the factor, good Lord, deliver us." (Forsyth, *In the shadow of Cairngorm*, 27). The Dorback Burn joins the Nethy less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the mouth of the latter.

Dunedin. Pp. 39, 40. In the *lost* register of St. Andrew's (p. 38) we have Dunedin (Skene, 175) in an entry relating to 1107. On the s in Sletheuma see my note above on the Slethmanin of p. 10.

P. 46. Stokes (in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XI. 73) mentions *Luctheos*. 'Luchtae of which the proto-Irish *Luctheos* is strangely preserved in the Tripartite Life, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13 b. 1'.

'king of
Cats'. P. 48. In S. H. O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, I. 169 (*In Agallamh*) two foster-children of a king in Alban are called sons of a king of Cats in the north (*ríg Catt atuaid*).

Fecir. P. 51. Fecir and Fechir seem also connected with Ir. Fiachra, for which Stokes gives genitives Fechureg, Fechreg, Fechrech from Adamnan (Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, XI. 85).

'frater
Diu'. P. 56. I cannot help suspecting that this is a mistranslation of some such form as *diubt*, 'deposed', mistaken as = *Diu brathair*: see p. 59, par. 1.

*mac
buthud*. P. 57. It should be added that the mention of a king's father is very rare indeed in *this part* of the list. But note should be taken of a Highland Gaelic word *bùthaidh*, 'hero' (Macbain, 33), and of the proper names Buit(h)e or Buit(h)i ('Boethius'—borrowed?) and Boidb.

Vip Ognemet (?). In any further attempt to restore the name of the king called *Vipoig nainet* &c., it should be remembered that the *o* may be *o* 'grandson', or the *oi* its genitive, and that the same word may be represented by *ua* in *Fiacua*.

Unradach Fin-galach (?). P. 58. The stem of Fin- in Fingalach is 'venjá' (Stokes, 270), and in *uecla* I suspect the corruption of a Pictish *uēgalac* = *vengalac(h)*.

'n for prep.
in. P. 64. Stokes in his glossarial index to *The Martyrology of Gorman* gives 3 instances of 'na, *in his*, for *inna* . . . or *ina*', 6 of 'na-n for *ina-n*, *in their*', and 5 of 'nar-n for *in-ar-n*, *in our*'. The Martyrology is of the latter part of the 12th cent., and is preserved in a MS. of about 1630.

Pet ipdair. P. 65. The name of this *pet* may perhaps = *pet i pdair* for *pet i bdair*, 'pet on the pathway', as the Highland Society's Dictionary gives 'Bàir, -e, s.m.' with meaning 'a beaten path'.

For foundations dedicated to St. Ernan or Arnan, compare Killearnan in Ross-and-Cromarty and Killearnan in Sutherland. The latter is found in 1569 as Kyllarnane (Johnston, *Place-names of Scotland*). The Fordoun inscription.

P. 69. I have seen ogams in the 8th cent. St. Gall MS. 904 with the stem-line doubly barbed, thus \Rightarrow ——. Instances occur on pp. 70, 193, 194. Ogam direction-lines.

P. 70. Prof. Anwyl asked whether I had considered the possibility of *les Megq* being one word = Ir. *lessmac*. I did not know this last (Stokes, 250), which means 'half-son' i. e. step-son. If we read *Lesmeqq*, it would be either gen. sing. or nom. pl., 'Of the stepson of Nan' or 'The stepsons of Nan'. I think this suggestion less likely, however, than the divided reading, because the form *Lissmhac* (see Windisch) has the *m* aspirated, the Highland Gaelic is *leasmhac* (cf. *leasmhathair* and *leasphiuthair*), the Welsh (quoted by Prof. Anwyl) is *Llysfab* (not *Llysmab*), and, if it *was* aspirated when this inscription was cut—as it presumably was—the use of *v* in the inscription would have led us to expect *lesveqq*. The St. Ninian's inscription.

P. 73. The *sc* in *crrossc* is a transposition of the *cs* (*x*) in *crux*. The final *-c* still survives in Arngask (Kinross), found about 1147 as Arringrosk, and in 1250 as Ardgrosc; in Badnachraskie, Ballachrosk, and Baud Chraskie Hill, in W. Aberdeenshire; and in The Crask, in Sutherland. The first and last instances are from Johnston's *Place-names of Scotland*, the others from James Macdonald's *Place names of West Aberdeenshire* (New Spalding Club). The Culbinstown inscription.

P. 77. A desire to show the antiquity of the title would explain the preservation of P- in Pett and Pua: but the real object may have been to keep the title indefeasible by retaining the form under which the grant was entered in the records of the king, mormaer, bishop, or monastery—such as the Book of Deer. Pett and Pua.

Let me add that the word is so common that it is found in 30 place-names in West Aberdeenshire alone. I need hardly point out that this fact of itself would be enough to explode the ridiculous myth of the deletion of the Picts by the Scots. Were all the ancient holdings properly examined, a great number of old boundary-stones might be discovered, and many additional ogam-inscriptions.

St- in Irish. P. 79. There is, however, a very large number of place-names in Ireland spelt with *Str-*. It is usual to regard the *t* in these cases as an insertion to suit English lips, but I suspect it to be a dialectal survival. There is in the Bodleian an invaluable alphabetical index to the 62,000 townlands of Ireland, compiled by the late bishop Reeves, and bought by me at his sale in 1892—its reference is *MS. Top. Ireland* b. 1, 2: I wish I had time to investigate the very large number of *St-* names (not of English origin) there cited. Stokes (314) gives ‘stoukki-’ as the ancestor of ‘ir.stuaic’, adding ‘Das ir. st ist mir dunkel’, and I find in Windisch *stab, stiall, stüag, stuigen*. These latter may or may not be derived from Keltic *st-* stems, but it will have to be recognized henceforth that Irish is not the pure offspring of the speech of the Scotti, but is a compound (in what proportions I know not) of that dialect with those of the Picts, Belgians, and Dumnonians. Macbain also has a large number of Highland Gaelic words beginning with *st-* for which he suggests no derivation—and for many of these he gives Irish analogues with *st-*. He tries to explain some of these words by supposing an (unexplained) *s* to be prefixed to a *t* stem. But one remarkable instance cannot be so explained: ‘*stalc*, stiffen, *stalcanta*, firm, strong; for *s-talc*; see *tailce*’. Under ‘*tailce*, strength,’ we have ‘Ir. *talcánta*, strong, E. Ir. *talce*, *tailce*: **t-alkið*, root *alk*, strong, Gr. ἀλκή, strength, ἀλέξω, defend’. So that in order to avoid Goidelic *st-* we have in *stalcanta* to assume an *alk-* stem with a (verbal prefix?) *t* put before it in Irish, and an unexplained *s* prefixed to that in Highland Gaelic. The real explanation is that the word comes from a *stalc-* stem, and that Highland Gaelic has preserved the *st* where Irish has reduced it to *s*. This *stalc-* may = *staql-c-* from ‘*staql-*, was steht, *stalá* Stelle’ for derivatives of which (e.g. στάλιξ) see Fick, I. 568.

‘Pre-
ceptum’. P. 87. ‘Preceptum’ (cf. Irish *precept*) may mean ‘doctrine’. But it was also a term for ‘monitum, invitatio ad preces fundendas, quæ inter missarum solemnias fieri solet, vulgo *Recommendation*’ (Ducange, *Glossarium*).

The Irish
Nennius. P. 90. Todd says ‘This stanza’ [i.e. the one containing ‘mbhretach’] ‘and the next occur only in the Book of Ballymote’. These are the two last stanzas, and the Book of Ballymote is only a 14th or 15th cent. MS..

P. 99. Johnston (*Place-names of Scotland*) mentions (p. 37) a Cairnbulg in Aberdeenshire (possibly the Tomb of Gartnait Bolg?), and (p. 94) a Drumbulg at Tarland in Aberdeenshire: he also gives Bladebolg (cf. Blatobulgium?) as the oldest form of the name of Blebo in Fife.

I am able to add from Campbell's *Popular tales of the West Highlands* (II. 62-3) the farm of Dunbhuilg (= Dun Bhuilg) in Caignish (Argyll), and from Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (I. 185) and Heathcote's *St. Kilda* (19) Dunfhirbolg or Dun Fir-Bholg, the name of a fort on the isle of Dun, one of the St. Kilda group.

P. 100. Mr. James Macdonald in his valuable *Place names of West Aberdeenshire* (New Spalding Club) mentions that 'Bolgen or Bolcan enters into Irish place-names, such as Drumbulgan, Trabolgan and Bovolcan (Joyce, II., 21), the latter corresponding to the Strathspey pronunciation of Strathbogie—Stravolagan and Stravalagan' (p. 310).

The passage in Joyce is as follows:—

'The word *bolg* was occasionally used as a personal name; thus we find the name *Bolgodhar* [Bolgower—*Bolg*, the pale-faced], and also the family name *O'Bolg*, in the Four Masters. The diminutive *Bolgan* or *Bolcan* is used much oftener than the original. St. Olcan, founder and bishop of Armoy in Antrim, who was ordained by St. Patrick, is also called Bolcan; and the townland of Bovolcan near Stonyford in the parish of Derryaghy in Antrim, which Colgan writes *Both-Bolcain* (*Bolcan's* tent or booth), was probably so called from him, the *b* being aspirated to *v* (Ist Ser. Part I., c. 11.). Near the church of Rasharkin in Antrim, there is a ridge of rock called Drumbulcan (*Bolcan's* ridge) which also took its name from this saint (Reeves: Eccl. Ant., p. 90). There are two townlands in Fermanagh called Drumbulcan, one near Tuam in Galway called Drumbulcaun, and with *g* used instead of *c* we have Drumbulgan in the parish of Ballyclog, Tyrone; all of which received their names from different persons called Bolcan. Another *Bolcan* left his name on Trabolgan (*Bolcan's* strand) near the mouth of Cork harbour: this place is called in the Book of Rights *Mur-Bolcan* (*Bolcan's* sea), showing that the change from *c* to *g* is modern.'

On this I have to remark as follows. In reality *-bolg*,

-bolgan, and other forms beginning with *-b*, are always separate words, and should be written *Bolg*, *Bolgan*, &c.. The name Bolgodhar should of course be written *Bolg Odhar*. The name Bolcan is simply a national appellative, meaning 'Belgian', from the stem *Bolc-*; just as Manannan is a national appellative, meaning 'Menapian', from the stem *Manann-* = *Manapn-*.

Mr. F. C. Wellstood has pointed out to me Dunbulcan bay, near Galway, and Derryvolgie, near Lisburn, in Co. Antrim.

Mr. Macdonald also mentions as Irish names Maghbolg, Achadhbolg, and Dunbolg: but Mr. Wellstood has not traced them.

poi. P. 105. I have printed the *poi* inscriptions exactly as Prof. Rhŷs, but the reader must not suppose that the originals are divided into words. The exact connotation of *poi* in these cases I have also refrained from attempting to decide. Let us take *Corbi poi maqui Labriatt* . . . This *may* mean

1. Of-Corbos, the-boy of-Mac L.
2. Of-the-boy Corbos, son of-L.
3. Of-the-boy of-Corbos Mac L.

—though I do not think the last rendering probable. And it is doubtful whether *poi* means simply 'boy' or 'grandson', and whether it is used to distinguish a lad from an elder person (perhaps a grandfather) of the same name. Inscriptions may yet be found which will clear up all these questions.

avvi. P. 106. In *The Athenæum* of Aug. 22, 1903 (p. 262), Prof. Rhŷs reads ' avvi ' on the new Conningsburgh fragment, adding '*avvi* looks like Goidelic'.

Pp. 108-9. In 1894 Stokes (40) gives 'erbo-s, erbi-s. altir. heirp (gl. dama, gl. capra), mittel- und neur. earb . . . gr. *ἐριφος*'; and Macbain gives 'earb . . . so Ir., E. Ir. *erb*, O. Ir. *heirp*, **erbi-s*, **erbâ*; Gr. *ἐριφος*'. *Heirp* seems to represent *erbis*, gen. *erbindos*, while *earb* represents *erba*, gen. *erbēs*. *Iaripi* might represent *yeribos*, gen. *yeribi*. The Pictish forms on p. 108 are of doubtful declension—*Erp*, and perhaps the others, being undeclined. *Allt na herib* is still the common name of *Allt na h-earba* (Braemar), as I learn from Macdonald's *Place names of West Aberdeenshire*.

Erpenn,
Iaripi, &c.

Pp. 118, 122. In the *Revue Celtique* for July, 1903, are two interesting papers which illustrate this calendar.

M. Loth quotes Father Grégoire de Restrenen's dictionary to show that in Brittany the weather of the 12 months was supposed to be foretold by that of the first 12 days of January—and states that in Cornouaille this belief is still held of the last 6 days of December and the first 6 of January. The name given to these days is *gour-deziou*, 'jours en plus, jours supplémentaires'.

M. Loth says 'Ces douze jours (du 25 décembre au 6 janvier, ce qui représente la tradition la plus ancienne) sont identiques aux fameux *Zwölften* des Allemands qui, également, vont du 25 décembre au 6 janvier³. Depuis longtemps, on a rapproché les *Zwölften* des Allemands des *douze nuits sacrées* des Indous'.

By 'la tradition la plus ancienne' M. Loth doubtless refers to the ancient practice of reckoning the year from Dec. 25. Dec. 25—Jan. 6 would make 13 days, but probably from day-break on Dec. 25 to daybreak on Jan. 6 (i. e. 12 days) is meant.

M. Loth, no doubt rightly, regards these 'supplementary days' as originally an intercalation to equate the lunar with the solar year.

In the next paper M. Seymour de Ricci points out (pp. 314-5) that the days of the intercalary month preceding Giamonus are accompanied by an almost exact succession of the names of the next 30 months. And he concludes that the superstition mentioned by Grégoire de Rostrenen in the 18th cent. existed in Gaul in the 1st.

On these papers I have the following remarks to make.

1. It is now clear that Prof. Rhys's suggestion, adopted by me, that the names of months put against particular days were weather-forecasts, is correct.

2. They are not, however, intended as forecasts for the months, but for the days. If they were meant for the months, a single list would have been enough, and it would have been absurd to attach the name of the month Ogronus to 7 days in the month Anagantios. What is meant in the latter case is (not that the weather of Ogronus will be like that of each of the 7 days of Anagantios, but) that each of those 7 days will be cold (like Ogronus). That the forecasts in the intercalary

³ Schrader, *Reallexicon*, Jahr., p. 391.

month are forecasts for the days of that month itself is also shown by the fact that quite a number of them have the names of 2 months attached. Thus Atenoux 2 has QVTI IN OGR, while Atenoux 3 reverses the same names and has OGRONI QVT. A later day even has GIAMO CANT AMB RIVR—indicating that it would have the weather of 3 separate months.

Pliny's
statement
as to the
Gaulish
year.

3. Pliny (*Hist. nat.* XVI. 44) tells us that the Gauls began the months and years *sexta luna* = on the 6th day of the moon¹. I suggest that by the time he published (about A.D. 77) the clumsy intercalation of 30 days every $2\frac{1}{2}$ years had been superseded, or begun to be superseded, by an annual intercalation of 12 days, from daybreak on Dec. 25 to daybreak on Jan. 6; and that the regular months began on Jan. 6.

Intercalary
months.

P. 119. The calendar begins with the summer intercalary month, which may be a survival of an earlier practice of beginning the year at that point: the Attic year began with the summer solstice. But the summer intercalation had not, apparently, any note such as that prefixed to the winter intercalation; and, as the latter note gives the number of days in the year, I cannot doubt that it marks the beginning of one year and end of another.

Whether the intercalary month was meant to rectify the deficiency of the lunar years it follows or those it precedes is not certain. Its position at the beginning of a year or half-year might seem to suggest the latter; but it appears very unlikely that a deficiency would be rectified before it had occurred.

Anagant-
ios.

P. 123. Anagantios may = the month 'of driving back' the cattle from their summer quarters—cf. ἀνάγειν. It was the month before Ogronus ('Cold').

Vepo-
mulus.

P. 144. Prof. Anwyl writes 'With regard to Vepo-mulus p. 144, I should like to call your attention to the Welsh 'mulfran' explained by Dr. Davies in his Welsh-Latin Dictionary as mergulus, phalacrocorax. The word is still in use'.

Prof. J. Wright in his *English Dialect Dictionary* gives as one of the meanings of 'mule' 'Any cross-breed between animals or birds of different but allied species', and as

¹ He says the mistletoe was sought 'ante omnia sexta luna, quae principia mensum annorumque his facit et saeculi post tricesimum annum'.

another meaning 'The scaup, *Fuligula marila*. Wxf. (J.S.); SWAINSON *Birds* (1885) 159'.

P. 145. Prof. Anwyl says 'There is also a Welsh word 'gwyach' for a kind of sea-bird'. Now *gwy*a- = *veip*a-, but Welsh from *veipakos* we should expect, he points out, not *gwyach* ^{gwyach}. but *gwyag* in modern Welsh, though he cites both *tyrwyllwg* and *tyrwyllwch*, *digawn* and *dichawn*. If, however, *gwyach* could not come from *veipakos*, it could from *veipaks*, and we should then have

veipaks: veipos:: ka(p)erak-s (Stokes, 64): ka(p)ero-s (*ib*).

In other words, to represent 3 different kinds of 'flapping' birds we should have *veipos* (whence Pictish *vip*), *veipaks* (whence Welsh *gwyach*), and *veipakos* (whence Ir. *flach*, and by change of *p* to *th* (see p. 10) Highland Gaelic *fitheach*). For the application to a sea-bird cf. Highland Gaelic *fitheach* 'raven', which with the addition of *-mara* or *-fairge* = 'cormorant'.

P. 161. Littré derives French *lavoir* from *lavatorium*, but *lavor* in the only very early instances he gives are *li laveurs* and *le* ^{French} *grant lavur*, both 12th cent.. The latter of these cannot possibly be from *lavatorium*, and both point to *lavor*.

The modern *lavoir*, on the other hand, cannot be from *lavor*, except by a corruption of the ending to match the true substantives in *-oir*. If that is not its origin, then it is either from *lavatorium* or is a new coinage from the stem *lav*-.

The rustic Latin *lavor* survives also in Romonsch—'LAVOR, and il das Waschbecken' (Carigiet, *Raetoromanisches Wörterbuch*). ^{Romonsch.}

Postscript on G- for C- in Pictish men's names.—This seems sometimes to have a phonetic origin. For *Ciric* we have *Giric* (p. 95), *Girg* (p. 96), and *Grig* (p. 95). Now the Book of Deer gives *Domnall m̃c g̃ric* and *m̃al-g̃irc* (Málgirc), which can hardly be mere blunders: also *m̃c gobr̃ig* beside *meccobrig*—all these being optionally-aspirable genitives. And I suggest that the use of *g* for *ch* after a slender unaccented vowel—whence *final g* of *Cobrig* and ¹ *Girg* (for *Girig*)—was extended by Middle Pictish scribes to *initial ch* without regard to adjoining vowels. The use of such a *G*- for a *non*-aspirable nominative would arise from the ignorance of later scribes when altering genitival constructions: see p. 47, note 5.

¹ *Grig* may be an error for *Girg* written *Gg̃*. Or it may represent an earlier accentuation—*Ciric* = *Cyr̃cius*.

APPENDIX VIII

The Brandsbutt inscription

I have always felt sure that an ogam-inscription would soon be found which would put beyond question my interpretation of the language and object of the remaining Pictish ogams. And, while this book is in its last stages of printing, a new inscription is made known which, I think, ought to remove any lingering doubt which the most sceptical may feel. It was first published (with a photographic reproduction) in Mr. Romilly Allen and Dr. Anderson's splendid *Early Christian monuments of Scotland* (1903, pt. III. 506), after which Prof. Rhys wrote on it in *The Athenæum* of July 18 and Aug. 22, 1903.

Brandsbutt, near Inverurie. One line of ogams, undivided, with Pictish symbols (including the serpent):—

irataddoaren(n?)

i ratad d' O Aren(n?)

'in donation to O Faren(n?)'

i, 'in,' is the Irish preposition, found (see p. 74) in the St. Vigean's inscription.

ratad, 'donation', is a verbal noun of the common *-ad* formation (see Zeuss-Ebel, 485) from the Irish stem *rat* 'give'—for which see Windisch's *Wörterbuch* (under *do-rat*¹) and Stokes (225, under 'rattô ich gebe').

d', 'to', is the Irish preposition, found (see p. 68) in the largest Conningsburgh inscription.

O is the dative of the familiar Irish word for 'grandson' or 'descendant', which is found (see pp. 66, 69, 72) in the Kilmadock, Formaston, and Lunasting inscriptions, as well as with initial *þ* in those of St. Vigean's (p. 74) and Shevack (p. 75).

¹ This ('he-gave') is the regular word in the records of land-grants in the Book of Deer.

Arens, as hitherto read, should apparently be *Areunn*, 'of Farann'. In ogams 𐌚 is *n* and 𐌛 is *s*. The last character in the inscription has only 4 perfect strokes, but they are followed by what seems to be the notch of the bottom of a 5th, which would give *n*. This notch can be seen even in the processed reproduction, but is clearer in the photograph shown to me by Mr. F. R. Coles, Assistant Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

Aren(n) is phonetic for *Fharen(n)*, gen. of *Faran(n)*, just as in the St. Vigean's inscription (see p. 74) *Oret* is phonetic for *Fhoret*, gen. of *Forat*. The initial *F* became 'aspirated' after the preceding *dative* singular *O*, and aspirated *f* is silent.

The name is preserved in Scottish Macfarren, Irish Faren (Belfast) and Farren. And a nom. *Farann*¹ is postulated by the derivative *Farannan*, in the Ulster Annals under the year 551—cf. modern Farnan (Belfast).

This boundary-stone—which is 'in a dyke' i. e. wall 'that divides two fields'—is, in fact, like every other Pictish inscribed stone yet found, the title-deed to ground on which it stands. It records the gift of that ground to O Farenn, and, if we ask from whom, the answer is to be found in the Pictish symbols—prominent among which is the *serpent*.

Prof. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 132) has observed that in 'the middle of the sixth century' 'Gildas described Maelgwn as *insularis draco* or the island dragon, the island being probably Britain, and not Mona, as is sometimes supposed; and here we have an early instance of the habit so common in Welsh poetry of calling a king or great leader a dragon, as when a mythical Gwledig of Lower Britain is always called Uthr Bendragon, or Uthr Head-dragon, the reputed father of King Arthur. The Welsh words are *draig* and *dragon*, which, like the English *dragon*, take us back to the Latin *draco*, *draconis*, a dragon, and these in their turn to the Augustan era of the Roman empire, when dragons¹ came to be figured in purple on the standards of some of the legions and to be borne before

¹ *Faran* is found as an Irish surname in 1541-2 (*Cat. of rolls of Chancery in Ireland*, I. 83), but that may be from the place-name Farran, which is of different origin. Farron is an existing Irish surname.

² See the elaborate article and the copious references *s. v. draco*, in Ducange's *Lat. Dic.* (Paris, 1842).

military leaders: the custom then extended itself to the emperors in time of peace; and the Welsh words make it highly probable that this practice was among the Roman traditions cherished by the Kymric Gwledigs or over-kings, whom the bards sometimes styled *Kessarogion*¹ or Cæsarians, and men of Roman descent; nor have we to look elsewhere for the explanation of the fact that the Red Dragon, which figures in the story of Vortigern and Merlin, has always been the favourite flag of Wales'.

But the Roman 'draco' was not what we call a 'dragon', nor was it any kind of fabulous creature whatever: it was a large serpent, or python. And I have no doubt that the serpent on Pictish boundary-stones represents the king, or the mormaer, or the toisech (see p. 77).

Other
symbols
on the
stone.

The remaining symbols on this stone are the 'doubly-bent rod symbol' and 'the crescent-symbol with the bent rod or sceptre over the serpent'. A cumulation of symbols may mean either joint ownership (for which see p. 77) or successive ownership.

The
'elephant'
symbol.

For the study of the symbols absolutely perfect facilities are now given by Mr. Romilly Allen and Dr. Anderson's magnificent work. I cannot even begin that study, but on one point, the meaning of the symbol which used to be called the elephant symbol, I can make a contribution to it.

The Forres
cross.

I have before me a print by J. Grant, 1826 (given me by Mr. James Lawson, photographer, Forres), of the celebrated carved cross at Forres. That cross is now so decayed that the topmost carving on the reverse is described in Romilly Allen and Anderson's book as 'a horizontal row of figures too defaced to be made out'. But Grant was able to draw it quite clearly as the 'elephant' symbol with a horse under it. The figures below² suggest that the cross is erected to commemorate the result of two battles fought between the Picts themselves, and such an elaborately sculptured cross, 20 ft. high, can only have been erected either by the king of Alba or the *mormaer* of Moray—one of whom it is natural to suppose indicated by the 'elephant' symbol.

¹ See Skene's "Ancient Books of Wales," ii. p. 212.

² See a special note by me prepared for the next issue of the illustrated edition of *Social England*, vol. 3.

APPENDIX IX

The Pictish words *cartit* and *Scollosthes*

These are the only Pictish words which have come down to us accompanied by an explanation.

In Cormac's glossary (the alleged author of which was a Munster king-bishop killed in 908, and which in any case is not later than the 10th cent.) we have—

‘Cartit.i.delg. belra cruithnech.i.delg
for a curtar a choss.’

‘*Cartit* i.e. (cloak-)pin. Pictish speech. i.e. (cloak-)pin
on which is put its leg.’

The explanation indicates the derivation, which is from the stem *carad-*, ‘leg or haunch’, of which we have nom. *cara*, acc. *caraid*.

For the suffix *-it* see Zeuss-Ebel, 805—e.g. ‘*sliassit*, *sliasit* (gl. poples, gl. femer)’.

The reduction of *caradit* to *cartit* is quite normal. The loss of the unaccented short second vowel is one of the commonest phenomena: e.g. in *cairtib*, dat. pl. of *cara*, gen. *carat* ‘friend’, and in *cartoit* from Lat. *caritat-*. For the writing of *d* as *t* after *r*, *l*, *n*, see Zeuss-Ebel, 60-1, especially the examples of *cert-* for *cerd-*.

Reginald of Durham did not finish his *Life of Cuthbert* before 1173. Ch. 85 of the printed text begins *De Scolastico quodam Pictorum temerario* and relates to a Pict of Kirkcudbright in Galloway. It speaks of ‘clerici illi, qui in ecclesiâ illâ commorantur, qui Pictorum linguâ Scollofthes cognominantur’.

Here a scribe, or else the editor of the printed text, has misread *f* as *f*. The word is obviously *Scollostes*, and so (f. 99) reads the Bodleian MS. Fairfax 6, which was not used by the editor.

It is of course not native Pictish, but borrowed from Latin—apparently, however, not from *scholasticus* itself, but from a Latinized form of the Greek σχολαστής. Cf. in Ducange ‘Scolastia . . . Scholastica ecclesiæ dignitas’ in an Aquileia document of 1253.

In the previous chapter Reginald mentions a journey of the abbat of Rievaulx in 1164 ‘ad terram Pictorum’, where he came to Kirkcudbright, ‘quæ in terrâ Pictorum sita est’.

In mentioning the Picts for the last time let me explain an apparent omission. They are called Pictones in fragments of a Latin chronicle relating to 750 and 752 incorporated in Tigernach and the Ulster Annals. Also their country is called Pictavia. But I have not adduced these names as evidences of identity with the Pictones and Pictavi of Poitou because I have not felt sure that they were not merely arbitrary applications of those names by the late chroniclers in whom we find them.

INDEX

[As this index has been constructed against time, I must ask that any shortcomings may be forgiven. It had to be executed under the writer's directions, and partly by himself: it could not have been handed over even to the best-trained of professional indexers. It represents the equivalent of a good many weeks' continuous work; and the work could *not* be done continuously, but only in odd bits of time extending over more than half a year.

I have intentionally left out the already recognized *ur*-Keltic forms, and all words—not being proper names—in other languages than those which the book specifically deals with (i.e. other than Old Goidelic or Pictish), unless where I have been able to throw new light on them. For it was of no use to cram the index with extracts from dictionaries.

And in view of the very full table of contents, the marginalia, and the page-headings, I have felt justified in not indexing *subjects*—other than names, words, and phonetic or palaeographical details—more than was absolutely necessary to bring together scattered observations.

I have affixed the signs † and ‡ not only to ancient Pictavian and Pictish but to modern proper names derived from them.

The contents of the special lists at end are also included in the Index proper.]

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